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The Gist of It

STUDENT, teacher, journalist and ranking American expert on Labor and Internationalism (the title of his recent book) LEWIS L. LORWIN is a member of the staff of the Institute of Economics of the Brookings Institution at Washington, D. C. His sweeping approach (page 231) to the subject of economic planning for the whole world raises the discussion to a new high plane.

WHAT fifty million Frenchmen have demanded ever since the armistice—security, in the political sense—is the prime need of one hundred and twenty million Americans in the economic sense. A quick summary of our situation (page 237) by the editor of Survey Graphic, PAUL U. KELLOGG.

THE strategy of relief which C. M. BOOKMAN envisages (page 241) would conserve all agencies which carry on our social work—would not, as some have feared, throw everything to the wolf at the door in a frantic effort to stave off the real threat of starvation. Mr. Bookman writes out of the experience of his statesmanlike administration of the Community Chest of Cincinnati, and as president this year of the National Conference of Social Work.

THE minister who preaches on sex must have it out afterward with the leaders of his congregation, no matter how cordial their relations, as witness the experience related (page 247) by JOHN PAUL JONES, the minister of the First Presbyterian Church at Troy, N. Y. Mr. Jones is a graduate of Union Theological Seminary, a former pastor in Binghamton, N. Y., following earlier educational work with the Near East Relief.

THE challenging conclusions which C. G. DITTMER draws from the endless tables of figures in the census (page 249) are based on a study of population running over many years, including eleven spent as a teacher in the Orient, where he made the first extensive statistical studies of the standard of living and population pressure in China. He is professor of sociology at New York University, and the author of Social Statistics (McGraw-Hill) and co-author with John Lewis Gillin and R. I. Colbert of Social Problems (Century).

IT'S an amusing thing to see psychology and psychiatry become the subject of fashionable dinner-table chat. But it's a sobering thing to realize that people in distress must sometimes turn to mental quacks for lack of trained practitioners. STANLEY P. DAVIES (page 253) argues that the timid souls who would attempt to limit the demand are moving in the wrong direction—mental hygiene means mental health—we must have more and ever more of it. The substance of a valuable and witty paper before the National Conference of Social Work by the assistant secretary of the New York State Charities Aid Association.

THE background of conflicting interests of Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Russians comes out like an Oriental tapestry from PAUL MONROE'S article (page 255) on Manchuria. It is based on residence and study on the ground and a long acquaintance with Far Eastern affairs, educational, political, economic, by the Barnard professor of education at Teachers College of Columbia University.

ONCE before—in the New Germany Number of Survey Graphic, February 1929—ERNST JÄCKH, founder and head of the German Institute of Politics, interpreted the conditions, motives and emotions which he attributes to post-war Germany. In this issue he goes further, emphasizing the crucial importance of his country and its stability in the new world set-up. Page 261.

AT the head of his article on the Indian Round Table Conference (page 263) we introduce S. K. RATCLIFFE again to his many warm friends among Survey readers.

AS headworker of Neighborhood House in San Diego, Calif., IVAH E. DEERING was instrumental in the promotion of gay folk plays and festivals among her Mexican neighbors, such as the Christmas play which she describes on page 264.

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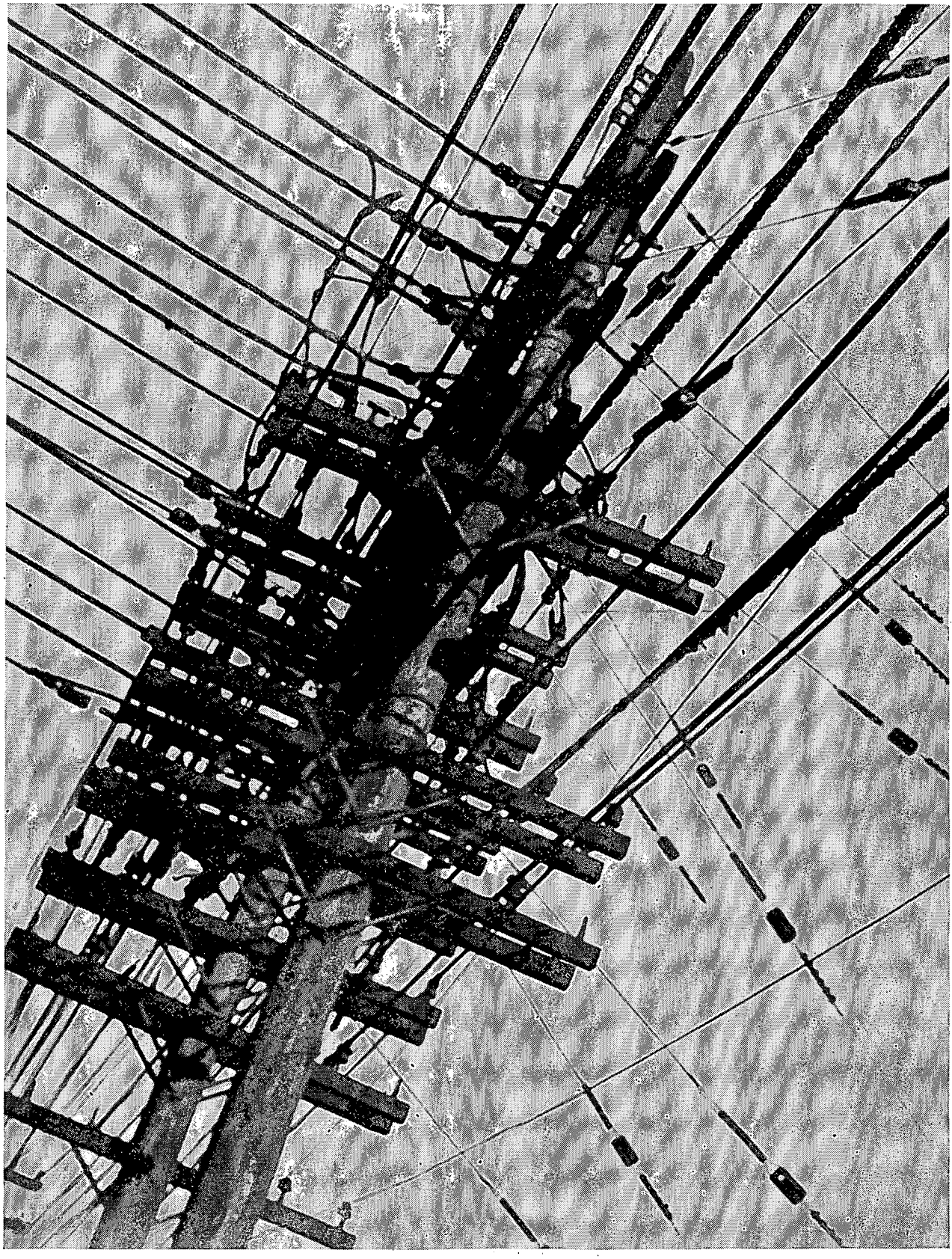

UNITED WE STAND PHOTO BY JEANNETTE GRIFFITH

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A Five-Year Plan for the World

Shall We Seek Temporary Pain-killers or Lasting Cures?

By LEWIS L. LORWIN

THE world crisis today may be viewed, as it is by many, merely as one of those major business depressions which have shaken western civilization recurrently in the past hundred years or so. Or it may be viewed primarily as a stage in the slow and painful liquidation of the World War which has been going on for over a decade and which is still far from completed.

More correctly, it should be viewed as a combination of the two. The World War itself was the tragic climax of economic and political changes calling for international readjustments which might have been made peacefully had the world been prepared for such a task in 1914. And the present economic slump would not have reached the acute character it now has, had not the industrial changes of the last ten years been aggravated by the dislocations in capital, labor, credit and political power and by the reorientation of international economic relations due to the growth of the countries of the Pacific—all factors rooted in the War and the so-called Treaty of Peace.

But there is a third and equally important element in the situation. For at least twenty-five years before the War, the basic economic and political institutions of the Western World were being modified, corrected and readjusted from an individualistic to a social basis. This process of socializing was accelerated by the War. During the same period, the ancient and highly elaborated civilizations of the Orient were being more and more disturbed by Western industrialism and by the growing intimate contact between East and West. They were seeking a new basis upon which old and new could be combined and harmonized, and this process too was accelerated by the War and post-war revolutionary development. So that today in addition to a major business depression and to a post-war liquidation we are experiencing a world-wide process of social change. In the West it means a shift from the unlimited economic individualism and political liberalism of the nineteenth century, in the East a revolutionary groping for new economic and cultural institutions; and it places before mankind a restatement of an old problem—how may the economic, cultural and racial aspirations of Orient and Occident be woven into a peacefully functioning world system?

A clear recognition of this threefold character of the present crisis is essential if we are to proceed to remedies. Those who see in the situation primarily a business depression, assure us that it will right itself automat-

It was at Amsterdam last August that for the first time a group of Russian economists sat in with a congress of their fellows from Western Europe and America. They told of their five-year plan and a nation at work in the midst of world-wide depression and unemployment. And it was an American economist who, by his sheer mastery of the subject and the lucidity of his analysis, became the spokesman for the westerners in their half articulate belief that through economic planning the stresses of modern industrialism may be reconciled with self-government and freedom. To the engineers and economists, business and labor leaders and government officials of a score of nations he gave a philosophic base for social progressive planning. The first of three articles to be published in Survey Graphic in which he distils his studies of the subject.

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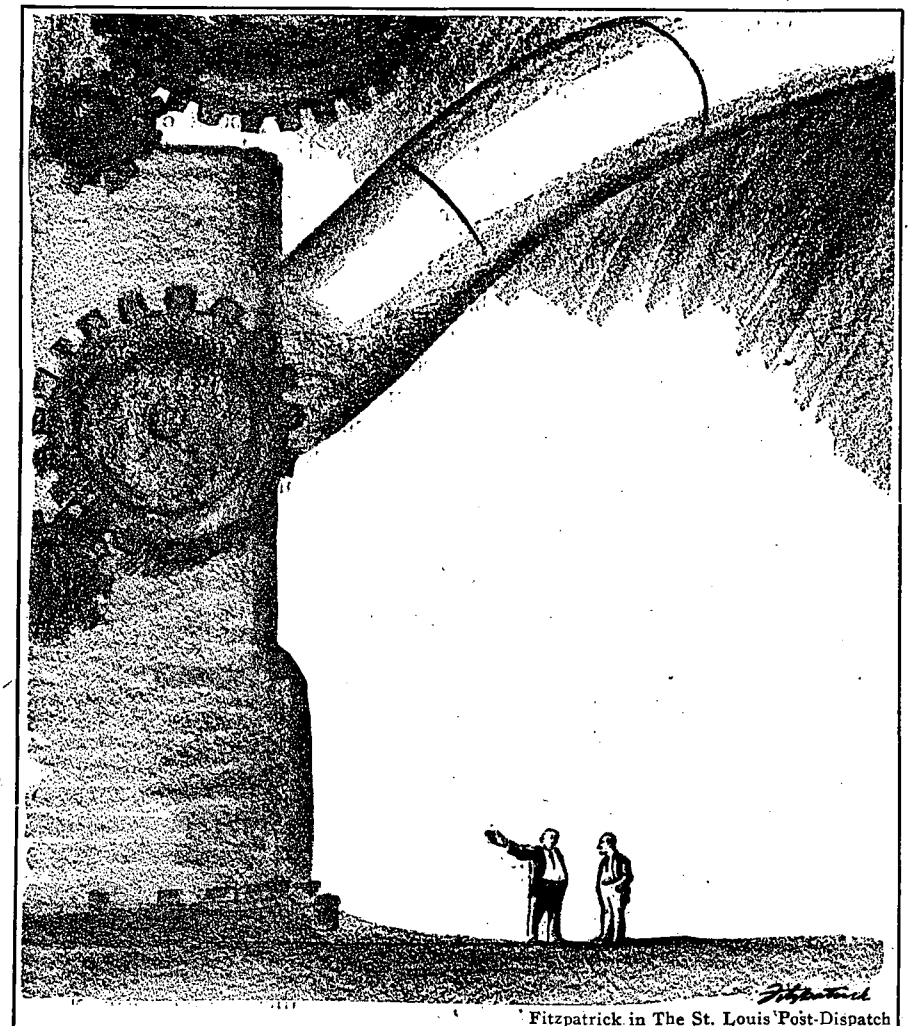
ically and soon. Applying well known criteria, they tell us that curtailed production is facilitating the liquidation of stocks, that wage cuts, lower interest rates and capital readjustments are deflating costs, and that as soon as these processes are far enough along, prices will begin to move forward, the business community will be aroused to new energy, and the stock market will give the procession a push forward by capitalizing the new expectations of profit and the reawakened desire for speculative gains. Once economic recovery is thus achieved, they hold, all other problems will take care of themselves.

On the other hand, those who see in the present situation a result of the War, stress the need of readjustment in the financial and commercial relations created by war debts, by nationalistic tariff policies and by transfers of political sovereignty which have broken up old trade routes and markets. Obviously, those who take this view can not rely entirely on automatic processes. Positive steps must be taken by governments or by industrial and financial leaders to correct the mischief done and their methods will necessarily be international in character. The Hoover moratorium is regarded by them as a step in this direction and they would welcome further moves, always provided they do not upset the present international, political and economic balance of power.

There is an element of validity in these proposals if one is seeking temporary pain-killers, rather than lasting cures. Possibly the present depression would right itself without any conscious intervention and without further serious changes in our economic and political structure. But this would simply mean postponing the day of reckoning for a few years. Another period of prosperity such as we had from 1925 to 1929, produced by the same processes of profit-making and uncoordinated expansion, would inevitably come to the same end. The individualistic enterprisers of all countries would give us again glutted markets in wheat, sugar, cotton, oil, copper and other basic commodities; unregulated price movements would once more play fast and loose with countries producing raw material, upsetting the economics of the weaker countries and disorganizing world trade and industry.

In fact, there is every reason to believe that the incapacity of laissez-faire to maintain a progressive equilibrium in national and international activities is likely to become increasingly aggravated, should we pull out of the present depression without modifying our methods of doing business. For the dynamic quality of modern life, if left unregulated, is likely to become more pronounced. New technical processes, geographic shifts in industry, changes in habits of consumption, in the relative economic power of nations, in the distributions of population, and in the character and growth of national and world markets loom ahead as increasingly complex forces, less and less likely to work out an automatic and stable equilibrium.



Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"It will do the work of 100 men"
"But, we need a machine that will buy as much as 100 men"

The evidences of this incapacity are already numerous enough. In the United States, the alleged remaining bulwark of laissez-faire, a Federal Farm Board, tries indirectly to control production and prices in agriculture, a Federal Stabilization Board plans public works, the governor of a large state forces producers to shut down their privately owned wells in order to raise the price of oil, a Lumber Conservation Board considers how to eliminate cut-throat competition among producers, while employers and employes in the coal industry ask the government to help "regulate" their industry out of its present chaos. One would have no difficulty in paralleling these illustrations in other countries. Similarly the international measures are palliatives which may give temporary relief to the chief war victim, Germany, but they are not adequate for the big problems we face in world affairs.

Such measures offer no answer to the long-run problems because they ignore those other factors in the present situation which enter into what I have called a world-wide process of social change. They ignore the great changes which have taken place in methods of production and distribution; the international shifts in economic power, in the sources and direction of credit, in the trade relations of the countries of the Atlantic and the

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Pacific, which were beginning before 1914, which have become accentuated since 1919 by war and revolution, and which call for a new international economy. They ignore still further the revolt against traditional ideas and forms, the reaching toward new economic and cultural opportunities, which are at the root of the social discontent whose shadow overcasts the political life of West and East in the form of communism, fascism, nationalism and other post-war "isms."

IT is because some of us are keenly aware of the complex character of the present crisis that we can not rest content with palliative national and international measures. We are convinced that we can not make much headway by harking back to the pre-war world. The world of 1914 is gone forever as the world of 1789 vanished one hundred and fifty years earlier, and no compromise will give us back intact the beneficent competitive order, the progressive individualism and the political liberalism of the nineteenth century. All that died with the millions who gave their lives in the lost causes of 1914; and if it is ever restored, it will be only in the imaginative perspective of philosophical historians.

At the same time, we do not wish to join those who call for a complete break with the past and for a violent overthrow of all institutions. For that large part of the world which stretches from the Vistula to the Pacific, the question is no longer of negative revolution, but of positive construction. Having gone through the stages of clearing the ground from the obstacles of the past, the Russians are confronted by the more complex task of laying the foundations of a new and better economic and social order, and that again can be done only in a spirit of careful deliberation and devoted cooperation. Those of us of the West who have seen revolutions at close range are as anxious to avoid them as to avoid wars, and we have enough faith in humanity's common sense to be willing to be patient and to try to build peacefully. It is in this spirit in which we should approach an idea which is being widely discussed as a possible means of economic recovery and world peace.

Rollin Kirby in The New York World-Telegram

A very puzzled old gentleman

THAT idea is economic and social planning. The emergence of this idea is not accidental. It is itself the culmination of processes of thinking in the Western World that go back to the very beginning of modern industrialism; and it is, too, the logical outcome of economic developments which for several decades have been shaping toward collective cooperation and social control. It is reinforced by the needs of those countries, especially in the Pacific, whose desire for industrial power and for a more ample livelihood calls for a supreme collective effort.

The idea of economic planning in its present form differs from the schemes of social control and socialization that preceded it. It stresses less the idea of ownership and more the objective coordination of natural resources with economic organization and activities. It is a realistic and practical principle of action which lends itself to gradual fulfilment in combination with various institutional forms. Contrary to widespread belief, economic planning is not the exclusive invention of Soviet Russia, and it need not assume the form which it has taken there. As it has developed out of a variety of situations, it may be carried out in forms different from the particular Soviet type.

What is essential to economic planning is its twofold promise to maintain a balance within each country between the growth of productive powers and the consumption needs of the people, and second to provide a basis for cooperative action which would make possible a peaceful exploitation of the world's resources in the common interests of all groups and nations.

This is a big promise. It immediately raises the question, wherein lies the power of planning to carry it out? The answer is given in the purposes and devices which are the essential features of any planned economy. The purpose is the conscious effort to satisfy the real needs of all the people up to the limits of our industrial capacity. The basic device

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is to determine in advance the output necessary for such purpose and to direct collectively the further growth of productive forces in relation to advancement in the standards of living.

Obviously, under any such system of economy there must be a unifying center to shape the purposes of economic life and decide upon the best use of plants, industries and technical forces in the interests of the entire system. We have at present the example of the Soviet Union where such unified control and direction are carried out through a network of agencies based upon a political dictatorship and upon the collective ownership of the means of production. Without passing judgment upon that system, one may refuse to accept it as the only system currently workable, and assert the possibility of unified direction without dictatorship and without abolishing completely the institution of private property. We can visualize a system of boards and agencies, partly governmental and partly voluntary, which would exercise planful control by setting up technical and social standards for all industries, by supervising the price process, and by determining the conditions under which credits would be granted to existing and to new industrial enterprises. Such planful control would undoubtedly have to limit the powers of individuals and corporations and subject the making of profits to social ends, but such control would not eliminate individual and group initiative on a private basis.

THIS social progressive type of planned economy seems to me to obviate the main objections which have been advanced against economic planning, especially in the United States. These objections are three in number. The most frequent is that any planned economy involves compulsion which would destroy individual freedom and so check progress. This argument is based on the assumption that all planning must be of the Soviet type and that all economic initiative must be a function of the opportunity to make unlimited profits. Both assumptions are unjustified. We have today industries in which the rate of return is regulated without hindering development, and there is no reason to believe that a general limitation of the rate of return in all industries would dry up the sources of human energy. Also many basic economic processes today—such as the determination of wages, discount rates, savings, and a large part of the pricing of commodities and services—are carried on under conditions of collective bargaining and public control, and could be incorporated in a system of planful activity without much difficulty.

We know that the basic condition of economic progress—experimentation and invention—is now carried on largely under corporate control and in an organized manner and that the application of new inventions is also controlled by existing corporations, often mainly for their own interest. Under a system of planful economy, there could be as much, if not more, incentive for the work of experimental and inventive individuals through bonuses and social recognition, while the use of new inventions would be subject to considerations of social policy.

The second argument against planning is that it is a device for "catching up" and not for "going ahead." It is quite all right, it is said, for the Soviet Union to plan in order to catch up with Western Europe and America, but the scheme does not apply to our purposes which are those of further growth and expansion. This objection points out an important phase of the Soviet situation: the problem of planning is much simplified there by the economic backwardness of the country. The low standard of living in the Soviet Union and the reaching out for higher standards create an enormous potential market and make the problem of adjusting supply and demand comparatively easy. All the government has to do is to produce more and more of everything: there is no fear of overproduction nor will there be for many decades to come. Last but not least, Soviet economy depends on the Western World for mechanical appliances and for new tools and processes, thus throwing the burden of technical progress on the capitalistic countries.

In the last analysis, the argument of "going ahead" versus "catching up" has very little meaning. The problem of "catching up" is in some ways the major economic problem of the day, not only for the Soviet Union but for more than half the human race including most of the countries of the Pacific. The Western World also has a problem of "catching up." We are too prone to exaggerate the progress of Western Europe and America and to forget that large areas there and millions of people are as yet very far from a decent condition of life. For these areas the problems is that of catching up with the rest of the community. Finally, "going ahead" means expanding old industries and developing new needs and new industries—a line of growth hampered more and more by the very lack of purposeful economic planning.

The third objection to economic planning is that it is impossible for the different groups and classes in western countries to agree upon purposes and methods. Planning, therefore, would mean handing over the economic life of a country to a political dictatorship and to a class government either of capital or of labor. I am ready to admit the force of the argument. In all democratic countries, economic planning involves the balancing of opposing group and class interests. But I believe that such a balancing would be possible, given dynamic plans with the promise of activity and economic advance. Even today employers and workers get together through their respective organizations and define in common counsel terms of employment and remuneration. There is every reason to believe that they could get together much more readily to help work out large schemes of economic progress and a national policy which promised a higher development for all. There is also here an immense opportunity for technical and scientific groups to bring about agreement on the basis of what is objectively best for the community as a whole. And in facing the situation we must recognize that the alternatives in the West are becoming more and more either acceptance of a rational concept of national and social welfare, or social revolution; while in the East the capacity for national economic cooperation is sure to grow with the opportunities for applying the energies of the people to new and fruitful economic activities.

WE have discussed so far the problem of economic planning on a national basis. It is possible to visualize systems of plan-economy established within national limits in separate countries on a more or less self-sufficient basis, and there are advocates of such a closed economic system in the United States, in Germany and elsewhere.

The idea of more or less self-supporting national plan economies harmonizes with some of the major trends of

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economic development. It is a stimulus to the accelerated development of natural resources in countries newly entered upon the process of industrialization. It allows for applications of science to resources in accordance with national habits and needs. In the Pacific countries where industrialization calls for changes in living habits as well as in production it makes possible the utilization of older forms of industry on new cooperative and technical bases. It contemplates the accelerated development of home and regional market relations which will become increasingly important as more countries become industrialized and the international division of labor based on the distinction between industrial and non-industrial countries is undermined.

It would be a mistake, however, to exaggerate this trend at present and to ignore the need and the possibilities of planning and coordination on a world scale. No matter how far national economies may be reorganized and redirected in the near future, the world economy which has grown up in the last hundred years or so will continue to grow, though changing in many ways. For the immediate future one may put the case even more strongly, and say that for most countries any attempt to set up a balanced national economy would be futile unless the necessary international financial and commercial readjustments are first made.

IN current discussion, three general policies for international economic development are given preeminence. One is the need for the removal of tariff barriers, especially of those which have been built up in the aggressive spirit of post-war nationalism. The second is the need for banking cooperation to help maintain currencies on a stable basis and to stimulate the flow of long-term credits at easier rates of interest from capital-rich to capital-poor countries. The third idea is that of action for restoring and stabilizing the international price level. These economic proposals are combined with various political schemes, such as the United States of Europe, enlarging the scope of the League of Nations, a Franco-German agreement, and so on.

These proposals are in the direction of international planning. They undoubtedly would have considerable effect, if they were carried out in the proper spirit of cooperation. More than that, as they are put into effect they will necessitate more definite planning. For these proposals, especially the ones relating to finance, would be a departure from the old methods of international lending and borrowing. Not only do they involve new international bodies acting in a new capacity and under new legal arrangements, but they also involve a new function of international finance—direction of funds to produce the best economic results not only in the borrowing countries but in the world as a whole.

In view of today's international situation, these partial proposals and suggestions would seem to offer a program big enough for the present. But the logic of economic events has no respect for fears or prejudices. Once an initial step is taken, a process is started which will run its course, upsetting all the timid calculations of harassed cunctators. There is therefore real need for some of us to use imagination even at the risk of being written down as visionaries and to try to map adequate programs in anticipation of events before the latter overtake us and leave us floundering.

It is in this tentative and experimental spirit that I venture to suggest what might be called A Five-Year World Plan. In formulating this plan I proceed on the basis of ideas which are already pushing their way through the maze of current discussion and proposals. I shall formulate these ideas in a series of five propositions:

1. The growing economic unity of the world calls for a new sense of world solidarity based upon equal opportunity for all nations. Every attempt therefore to perpetuate the division of the nations of the world into victors and vanquished, exploiters and exploited, becomes a crime against human welfare.

2. As national political sovereignty must be and is being modified to allow for the growth of international political action so also must national economic policy be shaped and directed with a view to its effects on world economy.

3. The destruction wrought by the World War is a loss which no country alone can be expected to repair without danger to the peace of the world, and it must be borne by the whole world.

4. The debtor-creditor relations of the world have become hopelessly aggravated as a result of reparations, unbalanced production, decline in prices, and the banking policies of certain countries in such a way as to call for strong measures of immediate relief and for long-range action on a large scale.

5. Further economic advance must be based on hard work, collective efficiency and public thrift, and also on the maintenance as much as possible of present standards of living in the advanced countries and on a levelling up of standards and an increase of mass purchasing power in the less developed countries of the world.

A World Prosperity Plan for the next five years based on these principles calls:

1. For a general five-year moratorium on all war debts and reparation payments. This is a necessary first step to give the world a real breathing spell from its most aggravating and dangerous post-war problem. Such a moratorium would leave the question of the final settlement of debts and reparations open, but the presumption would be in favor of final cancellation, if the effects of the moratorium warranted it.

2. For a series of international loans carried out through the cooperation of the chief lending countries and devised in such a way as to promote productive resources in the most promising areas of the world and to stimulate and increase world purchasing power. This might be done through a World Industrial Bank organized for the purpose, similar to the International Mortgage Bank and other recently devised institutions. Such a series of loans should also offer an opportunity to affect and modify commercial policies through agreements by which credit would be extended on condition that a tariff truce be observed or that tariff schedules specially detrimental to trade be modified.

3. For a series of international agreements for the division and control of the world market by producers of raw commodities and of some manufactured goods. I am fully aware that after the recent London wheat conference such a proposal must sound wholly futile, but I do not think that one failure in such new and large undertakings should be regarded as fatal. Clearly the chances of success improve as the demoralized price con- (*Continued on page* 288)

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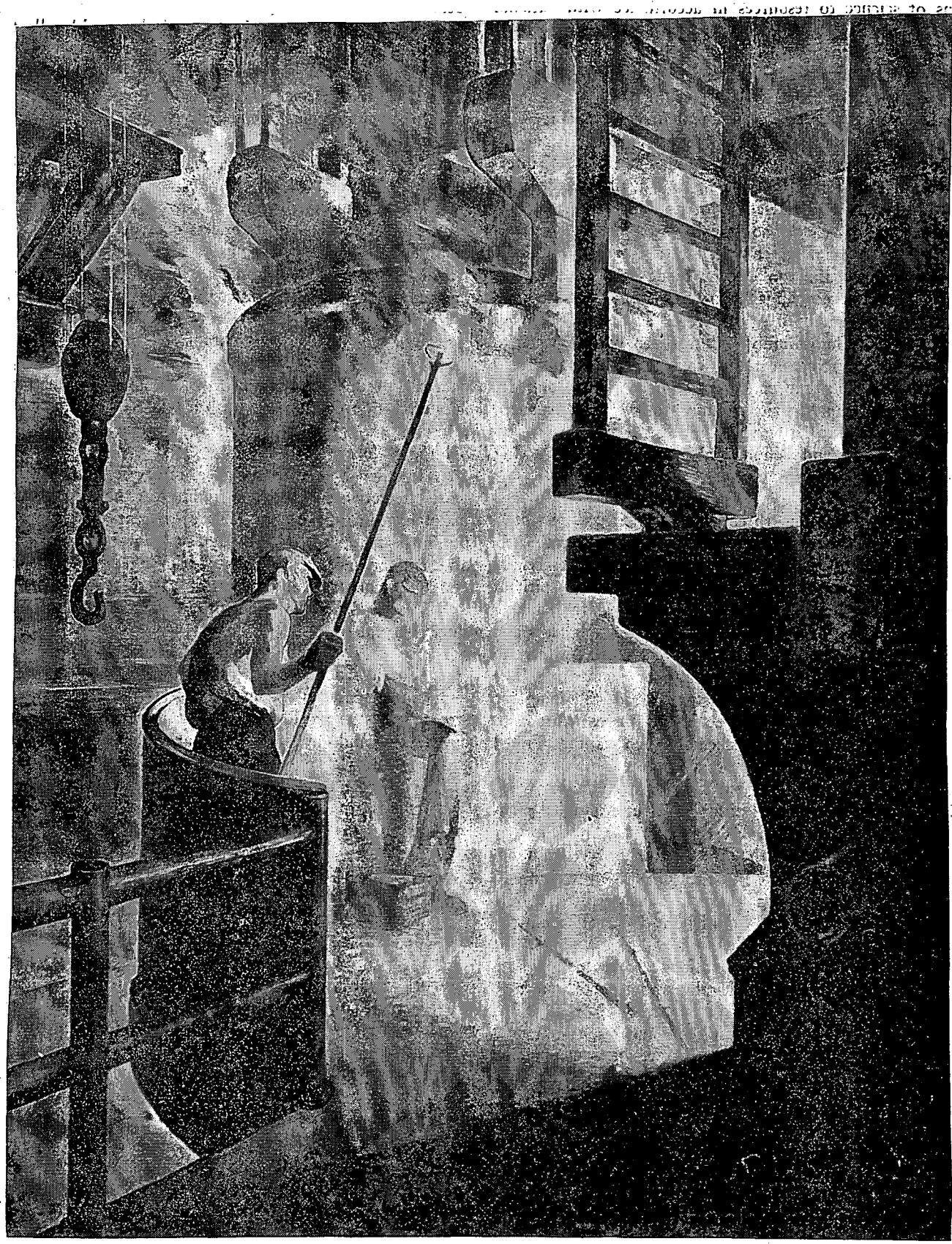

Courtesy Carnegie Institute International Exhibition, Pittsburgh

STEEL

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Security Next

By PAUL U. KELLOGG

IN pioneer days out in the Middlewest, there was the story of a country doctor who, when he failed to diagnose what really ailed his patient, proceeded to give her a powder. This threw her into a fit and then he knew what to do. "You see I'm death on fits," he would explain afterward.

From the standpoint of stabilizing the purchasing power upon which business health depends that's about the way, as I see it, that we treat a "recession." Orders fall and an industry lays off some of its men. That's the first powder and it cuts down the market for other producers and merchants. These in turn lay off men; plants go on part-time; and the shrinkage in sales goes on right and left. Workmen are "staggered," which means that none of their families gets enough to buy above the necessity level; and a whole belt of purchasing drops out. Wage-cuts follow, to the same result. More lay-offs, more part-time, more shut-downs, more wage-cuts; the powders are tried all around the circle. Each industry cuts the ground out from under the market of every other industry.

Now by some hocus pocus we expect that when this rigmarole has gone far enough prices will fall, markets will revive at the new levels, employment will pick up; but meanwhile the damage has been done and vast areas of purchasing power have been badly impaired and drag at revival.

Is there any better way than, after this fashion, being death on fits?

Of course I come at it all from the angle of the social welfare rather than of business management. One may or may not accept some of the new theories of the dynamics of purchasing power; but there is no dodging the fact that such a fall in purchasing power means a fall in providing power. Homes are wrecked; health is damaged; child nurture scamped; the whole range of constructive social work threatened; bitterness engendered; and a great lode of productive capacity in our people permanently depleted. Our present system, or lack of system, of emergent unemployment relief is cumbersome and fragmentary; a heroic gesture of good-will and strenuous effort, part organized, part hit-and-miss. Its gaps leave those we set out to help in an intolerable jeopardy. We may give until it hurts, but we don't give enough to keep the people we give to from being hurt. We couldn't face ourselves if we didn't go on with it, but the social workers who are shouldering the brunt of carrying out such emergent work are the first to bear witness to the inadequacy of its coverage compared with any other modern service we lean on in our community life.

Meanwhile charitable givers are hard-pressed at a time when they are least able to give. Manufacturers and real-estate interests are sideswiped by municipal levies. We are going to hear a groan from income-tax payers at the costs that reach through to them. But what about the sheer bulk of income loss, and the stark, close-in misery that it entails, borne by the employes of our industrial districts because of broken pay and no pay at all? That is the overwhelming cost that comes down on households not because of what they have done or left undone but because our banking, business and government leadership has got into a jam.

That this cave-in in providing-power means a cave-in in purchasing-power, is being taken to heart by merchants and manufacturers as never before and carries with it hope for straightening things out in the common interest.

WHAT I have described is a down-spiral of waste, loss and distress; of less business, less employment, less business, less employment and their train of misery. Every move sends things sliding down a new bend. Consequences become causes.

Can something be done to stiffen resistance to the drag at the beginning of such a spiral, something that will check and perhaps prevent; something that will at least ameliorate some of the social devastation in a more sensible manner; something that, by giving greater security to working people in their livelihood, will help stabilize purchasing power in those markets on which industries must depend in recapturing their momentum?

I believe that we can do something of that sort. And in that I'm only in line with the creative trend in scientific and economic thought. We have been slow to apply modern principles of cooperative action and insurance to the human hazards of modern industry. Death, sickness, fire are as old as the hills. Our forefathers knew how to cover those hazards. But when it came to industrial accidents, for example—spawn of big machines, big working crews, huge steam and electric driving powers, speeds and explosives—we fuddled along into twentieth-century America with the old master-and-servant rules of eighteenth-century England.

In searching for causes entering into the business depression we are likely to get lost in the heavens above and the waters under the earth. But if we begin with the consequences of those causes, as registered in a penniless household or in mass unemployment, we find certain common factors running through them which are manageable, which are emergent in their claim on our concern, and which lend themselves to public control and industrial statesmanship. And in a crisis like this, we see those consequences, left at loose ends, themselves become a cause, deepening and setting the depression itself, with all its business loss and human suffering. They afford a practical line of attack for constructive action by industries, legislatures and Congress.

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Then New York pioneered under the Wainwright Commission of 1909-10 and drafted the first workmen's compensation act which spread the risk out over industry, and through insurance out over onto the consumers who now meet part of the human breakage involved in producing what they want. That Commission set up an orderly system of security in place of the gambles of contributory negligence and other antiquated points of law. Yet this progressive change was sharply contested at the time; inertias and misapprehensions had to be broken down in securing the enactment of the bill which Colonel Wainwright's Commission drafted. The act, once passed, had to meet the test of the courts and it did. New York broke ground for similar statutes in forty American states; and today neither employers, employes nor the public would go back to the old way.

Which American state will be the one to pioneer with respect to this other hazard of modern industry—unemployment? Wisconsin, Ohio, Massachusetts, New York, California, Pennsylvania—half a dozen industrial states have been feeling out the ground through commissions or otherwise. The United States Senate has a committee of inquiry; but we can't be said to have begun to catch up with the other industrial nations. Yet our economists keep pointing out that modern corporations build up reserves which carry dividends at a fair level into lean years. They ask, why not apply that principle to stabilizing the incomes of wage-earners as well as stockholders? Our engineers keep pointing out that modern corporations set up replacement accounts to cover the wear and tear of machinery—even its obsolescence. They ask, why not apply a kindred principle to this recurrent risk faced by the men operating the machines? As Professor Leiserson puts it:[1] if it's paternalistic to be long-headed as to wage-earner's income, it's paternalistic to be long-headed as to stockholder's incomes. But would it be paternalistic? Or, would it not be like our compensation system, just orderly, collective common sense?

WE grew up in America as an agricultural society. My grandfather went West to Michigan from the Mohawk Valley. The pioneer had a cushion of economic security under him which he could arrange for himself. It was registered in his haystack, potato-cellar and smokehouse, his wife's row of crocks; his clearing itself. Come rain, come snow, come sickness, he had something that he could count on.

But by forced draft we have drawn people into cities, we house them in crowded streets, we work them in great factories. As William Allen White puts it from his Kansas outlook, the acuteness of our present crisis on its human side compared with say the '90s lies in the fact that city workers are farther removed in time from the farm and have no place to go back to.

Such chance as the city worker has for swift reemployment when he is laid off under normal conditions pindles out in times like these. All the skill, moral worth and back muscles in the world won't bring him anything in a factory town when its works are running short or are closed down and when a hundred other men are lined up waiting at the mill-gate. Savings, home-owning, insurance, children's education—all the fine things in life go into the pot. Bills and loans and charitable help form feeble defenses.[2] That homes go down while factories are merely closed, raises a question not so much of the self-dependence of American breadwinners as of the self-dependence of American industry in carrying its own risks.

And that we should be in the mess we are in after a decade of soaring prosperity is all the more a call for new leadership in our industrial civilization. Unemployment relief thrusts a staggering burden upon our social agencies, public and private. It shakes and may shatter our whole scheme of social work—health, recreation, education, case standards for helping people in the ordinary coils of misfortune. Yet it is driven home to us that charitable giving is not sufficient. The relief budgets embedded in the sums raised by the community drives under the lead of the President's Committee, won't of themselves last the winter out. They can't make-up for the flattening out of pay envelopes everywhere. Social workers who are stewards of these funds know this. We turn to municipal help, but that throws over on to real estate the brunt of an industrial risk at a time when landlords are shy on rents, when business is stalled and when home-owners run the risk of losing their equities. This left-handed blow at middle-class incomes gives another twist to the down spiral of purchasing power. Moreover the resources of hundreds of American municipalities will be cramped for a long time to come because of their relief bills last winter and this.

Slowly we have begun to realize that local taxation will not afford enough money. In New York Governor Roosevelt has turned to the state income tax to carry a part of the load. His was a courageous, resourceful move, but again it cuts in on current private incomes at a time when they are reduced and are needed for revival. In Rhode Island the state contemplates underwriting the emergent relief bonds of municipalities, but that is mortgaging the time ahead when Rhode Island will be struggling to its feet. The same is true of Governor Pinchot's Prosperity Loan in Pennsylvania; equally courageous and resourceful, but equally an augmented tax on times ahead for an evil that should have been fended against and met in part in times past. There will be a drive for federal relief if hunger stalks this winter. A lot can be said for tapping the one great stream of national income to buoy up what is a national emergency as truly as any war. Not since the Civil War have we known a conflict which devasted American homes like this depression.

But my point is that these are all hectic efforts to close the door after the horse is stolen; to try, out of the shrunken income of hard times, to temper their impact.

Why shouldn't American industry, as a matter of self-respect and self-dependence, of long-range common sense, set its house in order so that hereafter in good times it will lay by some measure of resources that can be unlimbered at the first turn of that spiral? Is it so hopeless to find a modern counterpart for what Joseph did with his granaries during the seven fat years in Egypt? After all, we are having a pretty thorough awakening from our dreams, too.

NOW it may be said that such a plan for insuring against want the families of working people who seek work when we can't supply it, is after all a scheme of compulsory

[1] Who Bears the Business Risks? William L. Leiserson, Survey Graphic, March 1931.

[2] For line and text see the settlement findings: Some Folks Won't Work, by Clinch Calkins (Harcourt Brace), and Case Studies of Unemployment (University of Pennsylvania Press).

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savings and that it runs counter to our traditions of individual thrift.

I have pointed out that the question is one of the self-dependence of American industries and of the American commonwealth quite as much or more than it is a question of personal providence. But why should we tend to get fussy-minded when it comes to applying the idea of universality to such a scheme of social protection, when without turning a hair we enter upon other mutual compulsions for very similar reasons? We can do for security what we do for health or for safety.

Your farmer can build him a barn of wood and fill it with hay. If it catches fire, we may say it it his own lookout. It is off in his own field. I am writing in a twelve-story building in lower Manhattan, where The Survey has its offices on the top floor. If the blocks around me were covered by twelve-story wooden barns full of hay, New York would have a pretty fire risk. Sheerly as a matter of self-protection the people of New York would not stand for such a hazard or anything remotely resembling it. Nor does it weaken the moral fiber of landlords and real-estate operators and tenants that in the interest of common safety, state and municipality lay down regulations as to fireproof construction, concrete cellars, fire walls, fire halls, fire stairs and fire escapes.

But when we turn to this other hazard of broken earnings, that is as dangerous to everybody concerned as combustible building materials and is far more prevalent in our industrial centers, we get all tangled up with our notions that every employing enterprise can safely set up its human fabric according to its own lights and that we must rely on voluntary fire companies to put out a blaze that guts the households of our cities far and wide.

There would be nothing demeaning nor disintegrating to the moral fiber of the community if we should bring congregate employment no less than congregate construction within a rule of stability below which, for the sake of the general well-being, business operations should not be permitted to go on. A safe unemployment exit no less than a safe fire exit, would soon be taken for granted as a commonsense arrangement.

The danger, as I see it, is the other way around. Here is a young family that has bent every nerve to own a house and its furnishings. With living expenses what they are today, it does not take many months unemployment to rip out their equity in that home. Here are parents who have saved up a thousand dollars or so to see their children through school or to give themselves security against sickness or old age. The man is laid off and they see their thrift wiped out. Here are long dragging months of half-earnings when meals are slim, when teeth and clothes and shoes and bed linen suffer deterioration, when tempers are rasped, when the husband slinks before his children as a man that can't get a job, and the wife keeps the door locked for fear of bill collectors.

I have warm appreciation of what the charitable people of the country are doing; they are giving of themselves as well as their money; yet the acceptance of their gifts often does something to the people they help from starving. Can we be blind to what the need for asking does to what in wartime we called morale? More than that, can't we see that the incentive to get ahead, to lay by, is hit below the belt? What's the use—if savings are scrapped in a single hard winter! If the members of a household go back and retrace all their steps and save some more, what assurance have they that their savings will not be spilled again? Experiences like this cut the ground from under any true thrift. In contrast, a system which as part of a wage-earner's bargain with industry, brings him a fraction of his former earnings when a lay-off comes, would give him and his family a foothold against both fear and despair. After all, a civilization that leans too heavily on fear and despair isn't a thing that you or I would like to live in for always.

It must be borne in mind moreover that under any system of unemployment insurance, contributing or non-contributing (and I am for the former), the heavy end of any wage losses due to non-employment still is borne by the workers themselves. The spirit and courage they have manifested last winter and this, in trying to make ends meet that do not meet, show that we can count on reserves of human nature in standing up to adversity, if we only give people some footing to stand on.

At a meeting of the American Iron and Steel Institute last month various speakers went through the old set paces in condemning the British "dole." They failed to distinguish—as The New York Times distinguished, editorially, in a recent issue—between the unemployment insurance system itself and the dole or uncovenanted or extended benefits for employes so long out of work that they are no longer participants in the insurance. But I am reminded that it was these same leading employers in the steel industry who long after Britain had ended the twelve-hour day resisted its abolition in American steel practice. I remember sitting in at a luncheon meeting fifteen years ago, with Dwight W. Morrow and Owen D. Young at one end of the table and steel men at the other. They discussed the elimination of this hoary abuse of the twelve-hour day which a stockholders' committee of the U. S. Steel Corporation had condemned as "industrially inefficient and humanly indefensible." Morrow and Young were right and the steel men wrong. And it's to industrial leaders of the former sort that we should look these days and not to the crowd who, however eager they may be to adopt new tools and processes, stall at modern social installations. An ostrich is an ostrich even if it hides its head in iron filings.

NOW it may be said that such a system would make for more rigorous selection of employes on the part of industry. It is argued that if a management has to insure a workman it will make sure he is worth it; and will consider putting in machinery in the man's place if that is cheaper.

Surely such an insurance system would make for sounder community life if it cramped the style of mushroom industries which, by resorting to the radio, advertisements and labor agents, suck in a body of employes and then turn them adrift without any thought of what becomes of them. Why shouldn't it be as serious a business to an employer to hire a man as it is to an employe to get a job? An extreme case of community distress at this time—Toledo's—can be traced back to the irresponsible hiring-and-firing policy of its biggest employing corporation.[8] This had built up a swollen payroll of thirty thousand in the spring, six months before the stock-market crash, and dropped down to three thousand by fall, leaving the community to hold the bag. The com-

[8]) See Toledo: A City The Auto Ran Over, by Beulah Amidon, Survey Graphic for March 1930.

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pany could not have treated its real estate or its bonds or its taxes or its machinery that way.

But the trend toward mechanization, with resulting technological unemployment, is bound to go on, whether we adopt such a system or not. America may be headed toward a big automatic mechanical set-up under which a few producers can turn out all the things we need, while a great unemployed population will not have the wherewithal to buy them. It's the modern version of

> If all the world were apple pie
> If all the sea were ink . . .

We'll have to face that quandary when it comes. Agricultural schemes, five-day weeks, shorter working hours, new schemes of collective occupations—the immediate future won't lack for social issues and proposals close in to the problem of sustained livelihood.

These issues and proposals fall within the framework of long-range economic planning. We have only scratched the surface of what might be done by throwing over our economic process controls of a sort which would bring greater order and concert into its operations and at the same time preserve a wide field for initiative.

Obviously, Russian development under Communism is a challenge to the West, to match its strategy in production and its goals in distribution through democracy and cooperative enterprise. Without going to Russia, however, we can see that an industrial set-up that is strong in mechanization, in invention and corporate equipment but is as weak as ours, after ten fat years, in giving sureness as to the means of existence, is in for self-questioning. With the wealth of a continent under our feet, we shan't indefinitely go on up poverty street between warehouses full of unpurchaseable goods. Some of our practical industrial leaders are going farther than our theorists of ten years ago in saying what should be done about it. Gerard Swope (president of the General Electric) among employers, and Sidney Hillman (president of the Amalgamated Garment Workers) among labor men, have set thinking going along organic lines.

But the point is that in a period of change, we need not let the brunt of it fall down like a thud on the homes of America. We can take thought that households have some security in the midst of flux. We can begin with our going industries and see to it that their workers are not thrown into the general brew of uncertainty. We can see to it that in normal times the man displaced by a machine, by market changes, or whatnot, has some insurance that will help tide him over while he looks for a new job. We can see to it that in prosperous times—not when the wolves of depression are howling at the doors—our going industries set aside unemployment reserves that will sustain a minimum purchasing and providing power when the early reductions in force and working time come, so as to act as a brake at the very outset of that turn of the spiral. And we can take full advantage of the public concern now, with the stress upon us, to lay the groundwork for the future.

Meanwhile, because of our fuzzy thinking, we lump the unemployed with the unemployable. The latter are a charge on our imagination and our charitable resources to succor and recondition. But it gets us nowhere to keep on failing to apply sane foresight to the going operations of industry.

There's another risk, and that is because of our fuzzy thinking and ineptness we tend to force down into a common mass of uncertainty and insecurity, the great body of capable, self-respecting, self-dependent producers. Such a drift is weakening to the footholds of democracy.

We want invention, we want enterprise, we want progress; we want a free society where changes can go forward; but we want security for the rank and file of our people in the midst of such changes, and we want people with a stake in America, with their feet on the ground and heads clear, to make those changes.

The development of a system of unemployment insurance that would cover the hazard of broken work and broken earnings in normal times, that would ease and perhaps help prevent hard times such as these, is a reasonable, close-to-the-ground objective. It won't solve the great causes of unemployment or prevent business crises. But it will give a new minimum measure of security to the men and women who do the work of America—and to their families—while we find better ways to do that work.

THE European nations have outstripped us in providing unemployment insurance just as they were in advance of us in instituting industrial-accident insurance. It may be argued that in spite of it they have unemployment. But we have deaths in spite of our life insurance. The insurance has to do with security of income in each case. We are beginning to realize the distinction between these insurance systems and the "dole" for mass and persistent unemployment with which American schemes for mass relief, public and private, are to be compared. European experience on its negative side shows the need for keeping the two distinct. The British dole, for example, puts the burden on those most able to pay and is surer than our emergent methods in reaching distress. It has its thoroughly ventilated dangers, but they are no reason for not carving out that field where the insurance principle holds, developing its possibilities, and then reckoning with what is left. Meanwhile as revenue measures for mass relief, we can scarcely fail to see that our drives on the generous well-to-do lack the equity of their reliance on income taxation. At the same time, our staggered employment and our payroll collections for relief funds are crude methods for spreading out the burden of unemployment among employed workers exacted at the worst time.

There are other things the European experience can teach us on the positive side. Private insurance, by industries or private carriers, is not enough. The coverage must be more universal to effect a social solution of the problem of security. And to be dynamic it must be linked up with a modern public system of labor exchanges and placement. There we are still in the epoch of stage-coaches. On the other hand it may well be that there are principles in our own emergent schemes of work-relief that we can weld in as an additional guard against malingering. If we can add also as an American contribution, either at the start or as we experiment, some plans for rating industries according to their stability of employment, we shall have contributed not only toward easing a recurring, measurable and devastating hazard, but towards its reduction and prevention.

The day he landed the French Premier told the reporters a great deal in twenty words. He was talking about world peace but we can apply them to the subject in hand. M. Laval said: "Governments and peoples should understand that security can not be expressed merely in words of hope; it should be organized."

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The Strategy of Relief

By C. M. BOOKMAN

IN big cities and small ones, in the board rooms of banks and social agencies, the council chambers of city halls, club-rooms, drawing-rooms, the conference-rooms of state and national bodies, men and women gather these days, pencil in hand, budgeting the needs and the resources for the months ahead. What are the bills that the community must foot? Where is the money coming from? On what basis shall funds available for the winter's emergency be allocated? How shall they be administered?

At the top of the list of the winter's essentials stands "unemployment relief." Jobless workers and their dependents must have food, clothing and shelter. No community can foresee the total cost of that responsibility over the uncertain months ahead. Obviously our situation calls for heroic efforts, in money to be raised and work to be done, if we are to safeguard the homes of millions of unemployed wage-earners against hunger and cold. The magnitude of the task and its appeal to our common humanity are so great that it is hard to keep the whole picture of the winter's needs in perspective and to hold ourselves to careful planning of ways and means.

Sometimes a problem is clearer if it is stated in individual rather than in general terms. Let's take a look at the Olsons. Ole Olson lost his job nearly a year ago. The family savings were spread thin, but they are gone. So is the Ford, the radio, Ole's insurance policy, and the payments on the house are four months in arrears. Their pastor finally persuaded the Olsons to "ask help." The family has been supplied with food and fuel to tide them over the immediate emergency. Ole has been given "work relief." The relief job has been handled.

But from the community standpoint, the family has other needs. The oldest daughter, in her senior year at high-school, must have a scholarship from a fund kept for that purpose by one of the private agencies, if she is to graduate. The depleted family resources cannot provide books, suitable clothing and "incidentals" and there are no part-time jobs to be found by which she may help earn her way. Fifteen-year-old John has developed a strain of bitter young cynicism, and a habit of playing truant from school. Whether John is going to recover a healthier viewpoint or whether he will turn to "the gang" is not very clear, to John himself or to his anxious parents. His Boy Scout troop is one of the influences that is going to help John "up and over" his difficulties at home and at school. The youngest member of the family, age eight, was stricken with infantile paralysis a year ago. If he can continue with the careful after-care he has had through the visiting nurses and the clinic, Sonny will recover the use of a dragging, partly withered foot. Otherwise he will be a cripple for life.

In the last ten years we have made real progress in community provision for our social needs. We have come to look upon social work as a major necessity and we have contributed liberally to its support. It has seemed to us a sign of progress that "charity" in the sense of coal and groceries for the needy has emerged into programs of preventive and constructive effort, taking the place in large measure of purely ameliorative processes. Recreation, character-building and educational efforts have been brought to bear upon problems of delinquency and crime. Child guidance, clinics for old and young, periodic health examinations and health education have lessened the toll of disease and early death. Relief has been furnished when necessary but family welfare agencies have tried to find a way for individuals to help themselves. Social work has pointed toward the goal of a better, a happier and a more successful life. New institutions have grown up, new programs have been functioning, new interests and more general popular understanding have been aroused.

CAN we conserve these gains we have made as the result of hard labor and the investment of large sums and at the same time meet the relief requirements that confront us? That is the real challenge in the mounting emergency as it is in the case of the Olsons. I believe we can, because we must—unless we wish to pay a terrific price for our failure; pay that price in the social consequences that are sure to follow in the wake of the present unemployment crisis. Broken homes, warped young personalities, lowered health standards for children and adults, young people handicapped by inadequate education or technical training—here are consequences of unemployment quite as serious to the community and to the individual as widespread malnutrition and curtailed purchasing power. The Olsons obviously need relief. Equally obvious is their need for other kinds of community cooperation in meeting their problems as a family and as individuals. But the relief demands of this winter are going to be much heavier than those of

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We think through our fingers. That was the old genius of Yankee invention; that is the secret of the experimentation and inductive research of our laboratories in the applied sciences. And among the men and women who have been weaving the fabric of social work and responsibility in our American cities are those who have something to say in times like these that needs to be reckoned with at Washington and in every hard-pressed industrial center in the country. Mr. Bookman is executive director of the Cincinnati Community Chest and president of the National Conference of Social Work. It is the new social statesmanship of the cities he offers us in a national crisis.

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last. Our thoughts are centered in relief to the exclusion of other things. There is danger that money which should be used to finance proportionately increased needs in health, delinquency, recreation and the other social programs will be spent for unemployment relief. I do not see how we can afford to let this happen.

If the whole job is left to the social agencies supported by private funds, either the relief problem or the program of community service built up over the years will be slighted. Speaking generally, I do not believe that private giving alone can finance this winter's unemployment relief load without sacrificing welfare programs that we cannot afford to scrap. There is only one way to feed the hungry without robbing other community services: that is to lift from the voluntary agencies the heaviest end of the relief burden through increased appropriations from taxation. For the good of all of us, I do not hold that the whole task of relief should be done with public money. Unless you and I have a direct part in this urgent business of feeding the hungry and sheltering the homeless, the situation will become vague and remote to us, lost in the mazes of taxation principles and administrative processes. We must have a quickening sense of the realities of the winter's emergency. We need to feel our neighbor's plight and his dependence on the community and we can do that only if we have a part in ministering directly to his need. To take care of a relief program broad enough to cover the winter's needs, to build up some sense of security—for the jobless individual and for his community—public money must supplement private generosity all along the line.

The individual at the end of his string, turns to the social agency. The social agency, faced with the choice between inadequate relief and a curtailed program of social service, turns to the community. The community, called on for heavy drafts of public money, needs the backing of the state. If the resources of local communities and state governments prove insufficient to meet the needs of overloaded communities, the federal government should then help to bear the burden, preferably through loans that will bolster exhausted states, thereby retaining the principle of local responsibility and local initiative. These are the successive lines of defense that we must organize behind the unemployed worker and his family this winter. Unless the part taxation must play in the relief program is clearly understood and immediate provision made, there is danger of a feeling of unjustified security when the fall campaigns succeed, as they have, in calling forth a reasonable increase over former giving.

LAST April's campaign in Cincinnati, the city I happen to know best, raised $2,426,000 in a city of 451,000 population. Of this, $250,000 was for unemployment relief. The budget prepared last April (which is proving to be inadequate) called for $1,250,000 for this purpose. The additional funds—$1,000,000—needed to balance the budget will be supplied through local taxation sources, in part from appropriations from current income and in part from an extra tax levy voted this fall. In addition, the city can if necessary issue bonds for a half million dollars as provided by the Ohio State Legislature last winter.

How similar public reinforcement of private giving should be raised and administered varies from community to community and from state to state. A plan that is workable in one place runs into constitutional snags or local barriers of circumstance or prejudice in another. But behind the cities, one state after another is rallying the resources of the greater community. Thus in New York, a 50 per cent additional income tax provides a fund of twenty million dollars to be allocated by a state committee for local unemployment relief.

THE preamble to New Jersey's emergency unemployment measure enacted this fall states: "The hardships occasioned by and attendant upon the lack of gainful employment and the economic depression generally prevailing are so acute and so affect the public health and welfare of the people that there is now an emergency which requires state recognition and aid." The New Jersey law creates a temporary State Emergency Relief Administration, and appropriates eight million dollars of the special revenues of the state for its work. Of this sum, the act specifies, $4,041,334 is set aside as a relief fund to be allocated to the municipalities not to exceed an amount equal to one dollar for each inhabitant, to supply a wage fund for a made-work program. More than $3,200,000 of the eight millions is set apart as a Dependency Relief Fund, and goes to the municipalities in amounts sufficient to reimburse them up to 40 per cent of the cost of their dependency relief program, but not to exceed eighty cents for each inhabitant. A General Relief Fund of about $727,000 is to cover the cost of administering the act, and may also be used to supplement the other two funds.

Rhode Island contemplates a more flexible scheme than either the New York or the New Jersey set-up. A bill has been drafted and tentatively approved by state and other officials, which will be presented at the regular session of the legislature in January unless conditions make necessary a special session called to consider unemployment relief. The Rhode Island plan will place a one-dollar tax on each pair of automobile tags for pleasure cars issued in 1932. In addition to this state-wide levy, towns and cities may borrow additional funds for relief purposes as they are required. Such communities will be authorized to levy 10 per cent on tickets to movies, legitimate theaters, football games and all other amusements; 5 per cent on intangible personal property; 10 per cent on all meals served in public eating-places and costing more than one dollar. It is planned to keep the automobile tax in effect for two years. The commissioner of finance, the chairman of the Tax Commission and the bank commissioner are appointed as a state unemployment commission under the proposed bill. Whether or not the Assembly is called in special session depends on the replies to a questionnaire sent by the governor to directors of public aid in a number of towns and cities, asking whether their local situation calls for immediate emergency action by the state.

None of these programs for mobilizing state resources behind local effort has general application. Each is drafted to meet a specific state condition—economic, political and constitutional. But there are certain factors that might well be kept in mind in developing such a scheme.

Our view ahead is murky. It is impossible to say, in early November, what January or February or March or next summer or next fall hold for us. There may be a call upon us for relief beyond anything we now contemplate. On the other hand, we may already be turning the corner, in the direction of a recovery that will (*Continued on page* 281)

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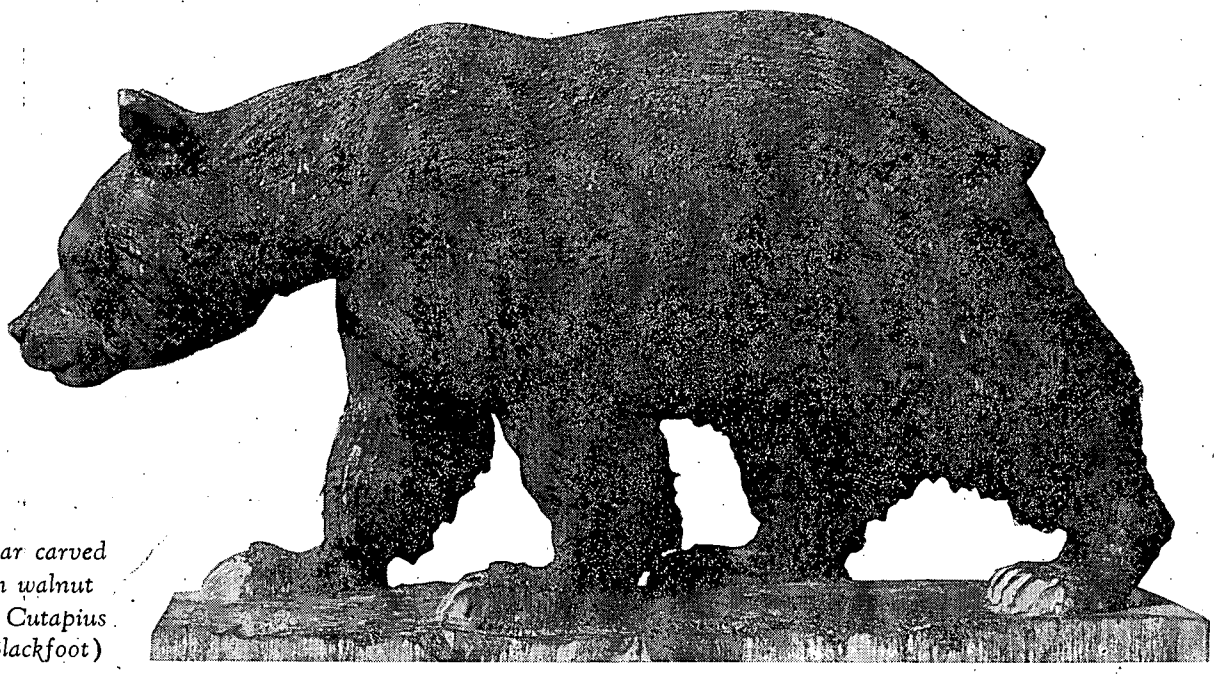

Bear carved in walnut by Cutapius (Blackfoot)

The Indian as Artist

By JOHN SLOAN

ART is at least half of life to an Indian. It is inextricably interwoven with his religion, and his religion is part and parcel of his daily living. Among those groups of Indians that have managed to preserve their tribal customs, artistic expression is part of everyone's experience. All members of a pueblo, for instance, participate in ceremonial dances, from tiny children barely able to pat their feet in the intricate rhythms, to old men chanting in the chorus. Even among those groups where the tribal life has been destroyed and the arts almost forgotten, a little encouragement can bring about some measure of esthetic revival.

When we organized the Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts to show American Indian art to the American public, we wanted to do more than gain attention and recognition for the Indian as an artist. We had in mind this deep well of creativeness in the Indian character, which we felt could be tapped and drawn upon again. Indian artists are like any other artists in needing encouragement. The interest of white people who not only admire but purchase fine Indian paintings, pottery, baskets, textiles, and jewelry, can serve as a stimulus to the craftsman whose natural creative instinct has been thwarted by the effect of our civilization.

An excellent example is afforded by the Southwestern potters, whose art had practically disappeared fifteen years ago. Archaeologists of Santa Fe who were excavating on the Pajarito plateau in New Mexico showed pottery shards to the women of the neighboring pueblos and encouraged them to continue their timid experimenting by the very practical method of buying their pots. Today there are many potters and their work is continually advancing in artistic excellence. They bring money to the pueblos, helping greatly to relieve the economic tension. But more important even than that is the sense of worth that the artistic revival has given to all the people. Its social value is incalculable.

Not only have ancient Indian arts been revived in modern times, but new expressions of old traditions have come into being—sure proof that the art is a living one. Indians show a particular genius for taking over the white man's materials and turning them to their own artistic uses. Navajo silver jewelry developed from Mexican silver and Indian design is one example. The bead work of the Plains Indians, developed with the white man's beads from the Indian quill technique, is another. The latest and most dramatic borrowing is seen in water-color paintings, which Indians began to do with the white man's paper and paints only about fifteen years ago. Today there are painters among the Pueblos, the Hopis, the Sioux, the Kiowas, and the Crees. Their work is quite clearly related to the ancient pictographs, and derives as well from pottery, basket and blanket design.

The Indian seems to be naturally gifted in the fine arts. He has a sense of beauty which clamors for expression. We need what he can contribute to our artistic life and he needs the practical, economic help that we can give him.

The Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts will attempt to fill both needs by showing the best work now being done by Indians all over the United States. The material includes about fifty categories of things in addition to the familiar pottery, baskets, rugs, etc. Each piece has been carefully selected for its esthetic value. In addition, rare old pieces from private collections and museums will present the background of ancient art traditions, in which the modern craftsmen are still working. As an art show the Exposition is of the greatest importance to Americans. As an Indian show it is unique, and will, I predict, prove to be of great importance to the Indians themselves. A two year's tour after the initial showing in the Grand Central Art Galleries, in New York, during December, will extend its influence throughout the United States.

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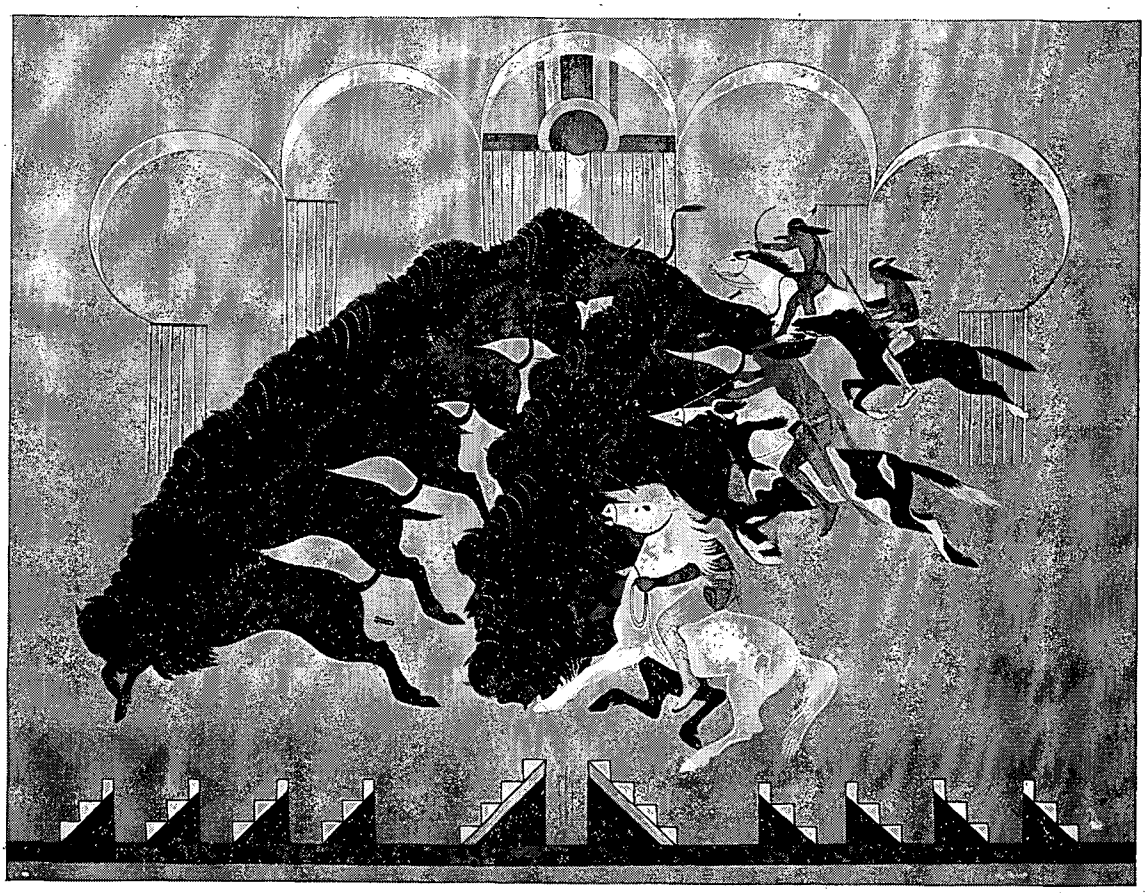

Buffalo Hunt, by Ma Pe Wi (Zia Pueblo). Collection of Martha White

Sword Swallower, by Hokeah (Kiowa)

Gourd mask (Hopi). From the Museum of the American Indian, New York

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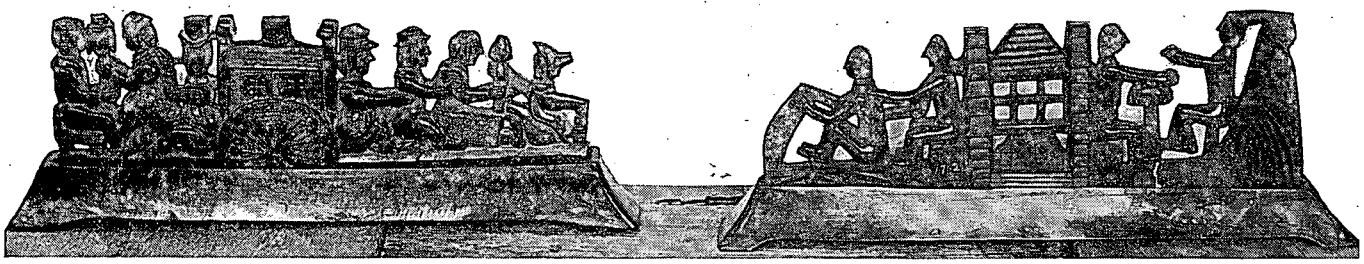
Chicken Pull, by Ogwa Pi (San Ildefonso Pueblo)

Kiowa and Cheyenne with pipe. By Tsa-to-ke (Kiowa). Collection of O. B. Jacobson



Carvings in slate by Haida Indians of the Northwest Coast. Collection of Miss A. E. White

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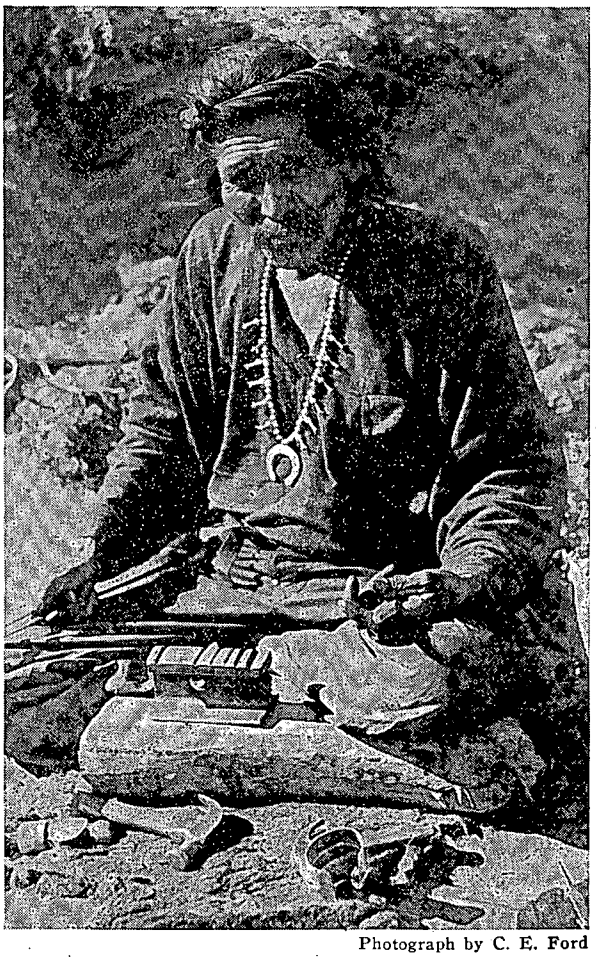
Cutapius (meaning deaf man) whose wood carving appears on page 243, lives in Glacier Park, Montana. His other name is John L. Clarke



Photograph by C. E. Ford

A Navajo silversmith

Courtesy Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Co.

Hopi basket weavers

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Sermons on Sex

By JOHN PAUL JONES

THERE is a clergyman in our city who preaches to an intelligent and liberal congregation. There are others also who listen. And not all of the intelligent are liberal, nor are all of the liberal intelligent. But all in all it is a superior group, people of refinement and culture, with a goodly heritage. They are interested in the finer things of life, and they are leaders in the community. Moreover the congregation includes a large sprinkling of college students and faculty members. Social and religious workers who are not members of the church help to make up the Sunday audience.

The congregation, moreover, is also loyal and tolerant. They are not fault-finders. They have a high conception of the priestly and prophetic work of a clergyman and give him the benefit of the doubt. They have no idea that he is employed merely to reflect the sentiments of worshipers or even of his official board. They listen to interpretations of the Christian gospel pointing toward social, economic and political ideas which they do not share. During the last presidential campaign when most of them felt that the salvation of the country was largely dependent upon the election of Herbert Hoover, they gave respectful attention to a sermon on Christian Citizenship which did not encourage that attitude. They smiled with regret when their minister "wasted his vote on Norman Thomas."

Notwithstanding all this, they have been considerably disturbed and somewhat up in arms. Their pastor has been dealing openly with the subject of sex.

In the middle of the week a considerable part of the congregation observe church night. They meet for supper and a mid-week service not exactly of the traditional type. They have substituted good music and discussion of subjects of the day for the excess of piety which formerly kept people out of the church between Sundays. On the whole the new venture is decidedly popular. During the past season they have been having lectures, mostly given by the pastor with an occasional outsider, on the theme, What Has Happened to Our Modern World? Recently they had the second lecture on the Home under this leading theme. In the first lecture the contrast between the home of yesterday and today was pointed out. It was shown that the emancipation of woman, the widespread acceptance of birth control, the coming of the Machine Age and a new attitude toward sexual morality had altered the whole situation.

Questions at the close of this meeting and after its conclusion furnished the stimulation for the second lecture. People wanted to know if the new morality, so-called, would not mean the undoing of the home and a lapse into a "morass of animality." The questions produced in the mind of the clergyman a conviction of fundamental need for a more wholesome attitude toward the sex side of life. He thoughtfully directed this second lecture with that in mind. In a few introductory remarks he pointed out evident confusion and maladjustment with their attendant disorders which in good people thwarted high motives and the best intentions. He read a brief extract from Canon Streeter on the physical and the romantic. In his frank and lucid style Streeter, quoting Havelock Ellis and Dora Russell, points out the tragic way in which personality is dwarfed and perverted by the notion of inherent evil in the sexual instinct. He scores the idea that "one ought not consciously feel the impulsions of the sex instinct." He pleads for the recognition of the erotic as legitimate, wholesome and necessary, both in man and woman.

From this the clergyman lecturer proceeded in an endeavor to show the practical importance of a proper acceptance and understanding of the sex side of life. While he spoke seriously and reverently, he left nothing concealed in ambiguity and purposely avoided the confusion which results from vague hints and phrases. His conclusion was a forcibly stated conviction backed up by all the logic he could find that a sane romanticism is essential in this phase of life and need not and must not be allowed to die out.

THE following Sunday morning the sermon was an endeavor to point out the three significant evils against which Jesus threw the weight of his whole personality in his own generation. They were singled out as pride, morbidness and lethargy. Morbidness was used to characterize the whole range of unwholesome, soul-sick and unclean attitudes which enslaved the people of that day. These things, the pastor suggested, were responsible for the loneliness of Jesus since they made people live and think superficially, whereas Jesus lived and dealt with the things that mattered. Over against pride, morbidness and lethargy, Jesus set humility, healthy-mindedness and spiritual vigor. The sermon concluded with a consideration of the question, Is our civilization Christian? The point of view was that the question can be answered by bringing our civilization to the test of humility, healthy-mindedness and spiritual vigor. The clergyman made clear the meaning by a single illustration. He brought the problems of youth and morality to this test.

Here again he spoke somewhat in detail. He was careful not to be vague and indefinite. He saw pride preventing people of experience in marriage and morals from being honest with themselves and the rest of us. He said that pride keeps us from admitting to our youth that they will not have done much unless they do better than their fathers. He lamented the fact that in matters of sex most of us cannot have clean minds. He blamed nobody, but condemned the spirit and atmosphere that prevails. He was inclined to think that society gets in a way that it cannot understand healthy-mindedness in these matters and that all sorts of suffering and hardship result. The sermon wound up with placing the blame largely on lethargy. The indifference of people, especially after they have settled their own private problems, is at the bottom of the whole difficulty. People can achieve humility and healthy-mindedness when they are wide awake, sincere and possess a spiritual vitality. Whatever the merits of the sermon, the pastor in it and on the Wednesday before had dealt with the subject of sex as he

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would with any other subject vitally related to human living.

Thoughtful people were disturbed and up in arms. Many thoroughly disapproved and not a few condemned the whole procedure. Protests have been many and serious. People called on the minister. And while tolerance and friendliness prevailed, they felt they must let their pastor know "he had gone too far" or overstepped his field altogether.

The sentiment of these disturbed people is adequately expressed by one man who came to talk the matter over. This man is an officer of the church. He was a member of the committee which nearly three years ago brought the clergyman to the parish. He has been a loyal supporter and a personal friend. With some difficulty he restrained himself as he spoke. He said something like this: "I am sorry to tell you that I didn't approve of your Wednesday night lecture and your Sunday sermon. I don't come to church to hear sex discussed. I am a liberal but sex is something that is too intimate, personal and sacred to be discussed in the way you do it, let alone from the pulpit, with mixed audiences including children and maiden ladies. The former will be made unhappily curious and the latter uncomfortably embarrassed. Moreover many people present have no need for such information. Those who do need it should have it given by an expert and in segregated groups. The way you went at it was repulsive to me and to a good many others. They do not doubt your sincerity and honesty and reverence in the matter but to say the least they feel that you went too far, and the church is no place to deal with such matters. We don't understand why you did it or what you hope to gain from it."

The clergyman spoke briefly and calmly of his point of view and why he thought it essential and correct. He also mentioned that he had had other reactions quite as sincere and forceful and more in number than the adverse criticisms. He quoted from a letter in which a woman of middle life had said, "God knows I wish someone had had the wisdom and courage to say it when I was young. I know I should have responded to so much of the new teaching—the right approaches to living and religion—if I had had the chance thirty years or more ago." The caller, however, was not convinced. At times the atmosphere in the room was somewhat tense, but in the end understanding if not agreement prevailed. Still, the layman doesn't want his clergyman to talk from the pulpit about sex.

WHAT does the clergyman say to this? What should he say? Whether right or wrong his position can be stated very simply. He maintains that if the church has any reason for existence at all, it is that it is an institution dealing with the factors vital in human living. Sex is one of the most important of these factors. Therefore, the church makes a great mistake in not dealing with it. But if the church is going to deal with it, it must deal with it seriously. It must seek to understand and state the laws which pertain to it. It must insist upon objective and scientific treatment. It must have done with any half-hearted handling of the subject which never comes sharply to the point of the matter but rests in vague and suggestive generalities. It must recognize that the primary problem is the creation of a right atmosphere concerning the sex side of life. The basis of any successful consideration of the subject must be a healthy-minded attitude which puts to flight the faintest suggestion that it is not nice or proper in polite society.

To a letter of protest written by one sincerely anxious for her children, the pastor replied as follows: "I can only say that my conviction is that we have not even laid a foundation for solving the critical problems of the home and youth and sex until such matters can be discussed objectively and reverently as of universal concern at any time and in any place where we purpose to deal with the things that really condition life. As long as mixed audiences must blush or feel embarrassed or laugh when such things are discussed, the demon of false modesty will thwart our best intentions. To yield to the idea that only in certain restricted groups and "on the quiet" should such things be dealt with, will be to put farther away the day of sanity and right proportion in matters of sex."

THE minister in question believes it highly significant that nobody has criticized his lecture and sermon as not vital to the problems of youth and home. The issue is a very simple one, therefore. Should the church deal with sex at all —or at least in any thorough-going fashion? He says "yes." Apparently most laymen and a great majority of clergymen, judging by actual practice, say "no." The minister in question does not believe this attitude is sound or can prevail. To those who fear that it will stimulate curiosity in young people, he asserts that the evidence points to the contrary. To those who maintain that sex is too personal, sacred and intimate, he replies, "No more so than the matters of the individual's relationship to his God." Yet no one objects to dealing with the laws and conditions of this relationship. On the contrary people expect it. To the contention that such things do not matter to many people—maiden ladies, for example—he replies that, "a right understanding of sex is of universal concern. Why should anybody be ignorant of the laws of something so vital in life? And do not maiden ladies have friends, nephews and nieces, and do they not help to make the mental atmosphere on such subjects either wholesome or unwholesome?" In short, healthy-mindedness in objective thinking and frank consideration is the beginning of wisdom in these matters.

Admittedly no other institution is facing squarely up to the matter. Yet in this instance, which is probably typical, sincere and thoughtful people are objecting to the endeavor of a clergyman to make it a part of the church's business in a realistic though reverent fashion. They are not accusing their pastor of undue emphasis or lack of proportion. Only twice before in over three years has he dealt with the subject at all. Once in a quite mild reference and on the other occasion provoking only a feeble dissent from one or two people. They simply do not believe that the church ought to deal with the matter in any thorough-going fashion.

There has been raised one question, however, on which anybody can sympathize with the laymen. It is the question, Are ministers capable of dealing with the subject? Here is where the rub comes. Are they indeed? As a class, probably not. Their academic training has seldom done much to give them adequate information or healthy-minded attitudes. On the contrary, many are led to pride themselves in keeping their minds on other subjects and all too frequent scandals reveal a most lamentable lack of wholesome attitudes. Is it not time that religious leaders among both laity and clergy were awakened to a frank consideration of a matter second to none in its possibilities of fulfillment or destruction in human living?

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Uncle Sam's Family

By C. G. DITTMER

MY friend and his wife are forty-five and forty-four years old respectively. They are native-born of native parents, white, literate, married and still living together. They live in a suburban village which the census classifies as rural. They have four children, two boys and two girls, ranging from six to sixteen years of age. A surviving grandparent lives with them.

This is about the census enumerator's picture of a family. While it is not typical it is an exceedingly common type. It and its variations make up the more than twenty-five million similar little groups composing Uncle Sam's family.

One hundred and twenty-two million, seven hundred and seventy-five thousand, and forty-six. It is difficult to comprehend the total and yet this is the sum of the members of this super-family to which we belong. One hundred years ago it numbered but 12,866,020; we of 1930 represent an increase of nearly 110 million, or some 800 per cent. During the past ten years the increase has been 15.7 per cent. While this percentage is but one third that of the corresponding decade a century ago, it is a startling accomplishment and well beyond the expectations of two sets of "fearfuls": those who see the specter of "race suicide" and a static population in the immediate offing, and those who see us headed straight for the dismal Malthusian alternative. In spite of war, epidemic, Mississippi floods, drouth, rural bankruptcy, business depression, unemployment, careless love, selfish parenthood, divorce, and birth control Uncle Sam's family goes on steadily increasing, though fortunately at a decreasing ratio.

Uncle Sam may be blind to his own interests but what seems to be bothering him, at his home in Washington and at his various country houses scattered from Albany to Sacramento, is not so much the slowing rate of increase as it is the problem of how to bring up and employ the 17 million he has added to his family since the last census. It does not seem to help him greatly to be assured that the birth-rate is really lower than it seems, that we really would have a stationary population if the age composition and distribution were different from what it is, that in time the composition will be more normal and he will be less fecund. Hopeless materialist that he is, all that he can see is the present fact and the present problem. He is also somewhat of a skeptic for he looks back on those good old pre-immigration days of normal composition, when we grew at least three times as fast as we are doing today, and fears that what has happened can happen again. He already faces the problem of the old woman who lived in a shoe.

Who Are We?

IN composition Uncle Sam's family is one of the seven wonders of the world. We possess all of the variant characteristics which are normally present in other populations and many that are not usually present, and there is a tendency for the latter to unbalance the former. National groups are usually highly homogeneous, but we are highly heterogeneous. We are a nation of nationalities, representative of every racial stock and strain on the face of the globe. Until the Great War, with but slightly restricted immigration, our heterogeneity was definitely on the increase. Since the War, with carefully guarded portals, it should have been on the decline.

To begin with, the people of the United States are less "white" and also less "black" than they were ten years ago. Since 1920 only these two groups in our population have shown a percentage of increase lower than the percentage of increase for the population as a whole. In 1930 we were nearly nine tenths "white" and nearly one tenth "black." Between the two is a latitude of just under 2 per cent of the total population which comprises the "yellow," "red," "brown" and "other." Increased percentages range from nearly 25 for the yellow group to more than 700 for the Filipinos. Even the American Indians have 36 per cent. This is undoubtedly one of the effects of restriction of immigration. We have shut down on the importation of rapid-breeding whites from Europe and the rate of white increase has suffered. Perhaps it could afford to suffer.

Now let us look at the source of our white stock. In 1930 some 35 per cent of our total white stock, including Mexicans, was classed at "foreign white." More than 12 per cent of the total white were foreign-born and 23 per cent were native-born of foreign or mixed parentage. Twenty years ago (1910) nearly 40 per cent were foreign white and more than 16 per cent were foreign-born. Our white stock is, as should be expected, becoming increasingly indigenous. Still, the fact remains that only two thirds of our white population were born of parents who were born in this country. We have as yet no statistics to show how many or how few were born of grandparents who were born here. Just to list the national sources of our white stock requires a census list of 43 countries and five different "others" probably including as many more. Nationally and racially we are the "chop suey" of the world. This unique compounding of our population has had its unbalancing effect on two other elements in its composition.

The sex composition of any population is an important fact. "Male and female created he them" and, interestingly enough, in such ratio that at maturity their numbers tend to be equal—a "Jack" for every "Jill." In 1920 there were 104 males to each 100 females while in 1930 there were but 102.5. This is called the sex ratio, or the number of males per 100 females. It is evident that females are increasing in number more rapidly than males and that the sex ratio is approaching equality. Since 1820 when the ratio stood at 103, there has been a tendency for it to increase except after wars (1870 and 1920) when it dropped. The present drop is undoubtedly due to immigration restriction with the cessation of the importation of large numbers of males. War also played its part in killing men.

Note the following significant discrepancies. For native

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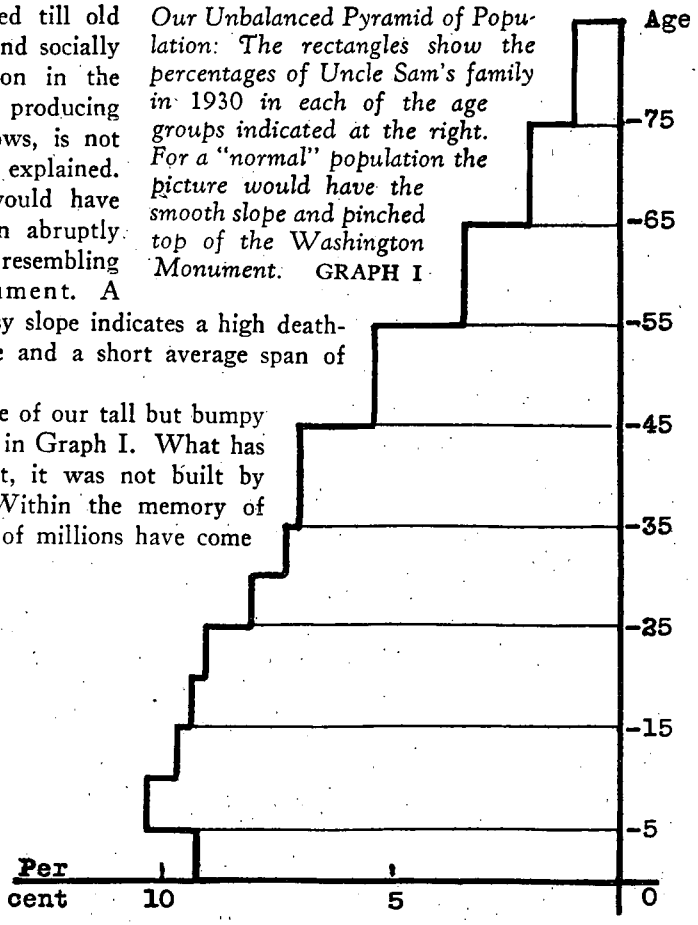
white the ratio is but 101.1 while for foreign-born whites it is 115.1. For native whites of foreign or mixed parentage, strangely enough the ratio is but 98 and even lower, 97, for the Negro. On the other hand, for Japanese it is 143, for Chinese nearly 395 and the Filipinos stand at the head of the list with 1437.7. Or, if you will, consider geographical areas. The North has a ratio of 102.2, the South 100.9, while we find 109.5 in the newer West. In only two states of the Union, Vermont and New York, and in the District of Columbia, have there been slight increases in the sex ratio. All of the census geographical divisions show a decline. Even the Western states with ratios still high show the most spectacular drops.

Ratios too far below and too far above 100 indicate population movement either to or from the area concerned. They indicate as yet unstable and unsettled social and economic life. Men move first and later call their womenfolk and children. Unattached men and women also move in opposite directions in search of economic opportunities. We are evidently settling down.

Another important element in the composition of any population is the matter of age distribution. Just as populations may have too many men or too many women they may be over balanced by too few or too many in a given age grouping. Both conditions affect the marriage, birth, death and increase rates.

In a theoretically normal population of settled, stable and protected existence, growing only or in the main by genetic increase, there is a fairly stable birthrate as large as or larger than the deathrate. For each age group there is a fairly constant deathrate and consequent expectation of life. The result is a pyramid of ages with a wide base composed of the young, decreasing year by year of age through death, till the peak is reached with the few who have survived till old age. This is normal and socially efficient. Any variation in the width of the layers, producing either humps or hollows, is not normal and must be explained. The ideal pyramid would have steep sides, pinched in abruptly at the top, somewhat resembling Washington Monument. A squatty pyramid of easy slope indicates a high deathrate all along the line and a short average span of life.



Our Unbalanced Pyramid of Population: The rectangles show the percentages of Uncle Sam's family in 1930 in each of the age groups indicated at the right. For a "normal" population the picture would have the smooth slope and pinched top of the Washington Monument. GRAPH I

Now notice the slope of our tall but bumpy and irregular pyramid in Graph I. What has happened to it? First, it was not built by our own birthrate. Within the memory of many now living tens of millions have come in from the outside. And who are they? They were, in the main, men and women in their twenties and thirties, hence they swelled the ranks of those age groups. Moreover, they came to us from countries of high birthrate traditions, vigorous and fecund, ready and prepared to multiply and replenish the earth. Immigration has been curtailed but the unbalancing of the age distribution, which stood at its highest the decades immediately preceding the Great War, is still with us. It will take generations for us to grow normal again.

Another factor disturbing the symmetry of our pyramid were our wars. Through this agency both the age and the sex balance is disturbed for it is men of a definite age group who are called to the colors. Many do not come back at all and many who do come back are incapacitated and leave their mark on our pyramid in the form of a reduced birthrate.

Pest, plague and disaster merely decrease numbers all along the line unless it can be shown that the toll of life is related to age or sex. Disease, in and of itself, is not so much of a factor as is the activity of our medical profession. Every advance which conquers disease and prolongs life changes the ratio of the ages. Birth control has it in its power to decrease the birthrate but at the same time to decrease the infant mortality rate and to prolong the lives of mothers.

These and a multitude of other factors are and have been at work producing for Uncle Sam a crazy pyramid similar to nothing else in the world. It is, however, in process of straightening out, of becoming steep and tall. But in that day there will be other problems and one of them will be the larger group at the top; the increased number of survivors who have passed beyond the years of work.

Another unusual warping of the age distribution is noticed when we compare the percentage age distributions of 1920 and 1930 (see Graph II). With a decreased birthrate and a lengthening span of life it is logical to expect smaller proportions of the entire population in the earlier age groups and larger proportions in the later groups. Roughly estimating the normal trend it would seem that the lines would cross (the change from less to more) at about 30 years of age. But what do we find? After 35 years of age the expected surplus is present. In the first age group, 5 and under, there is an astounding loss. The difference between the percentages for the two years is 1.6 points in favor of 1920. This deficit continues during the first three groups or till 15 years of age. Then for two periods, from 15 to 25, we discover a surplus. The next two periods, from 25 to 35, show a marked deficit and then, as indicated above, a surplus continues to the end of life. In the four groups from 15 to 35 years we have very nearly the opposite of the normally expected. This divergence from the normal will have its effect on the birthrate and possibly also on the deathrate. Decade by decade it will move along the

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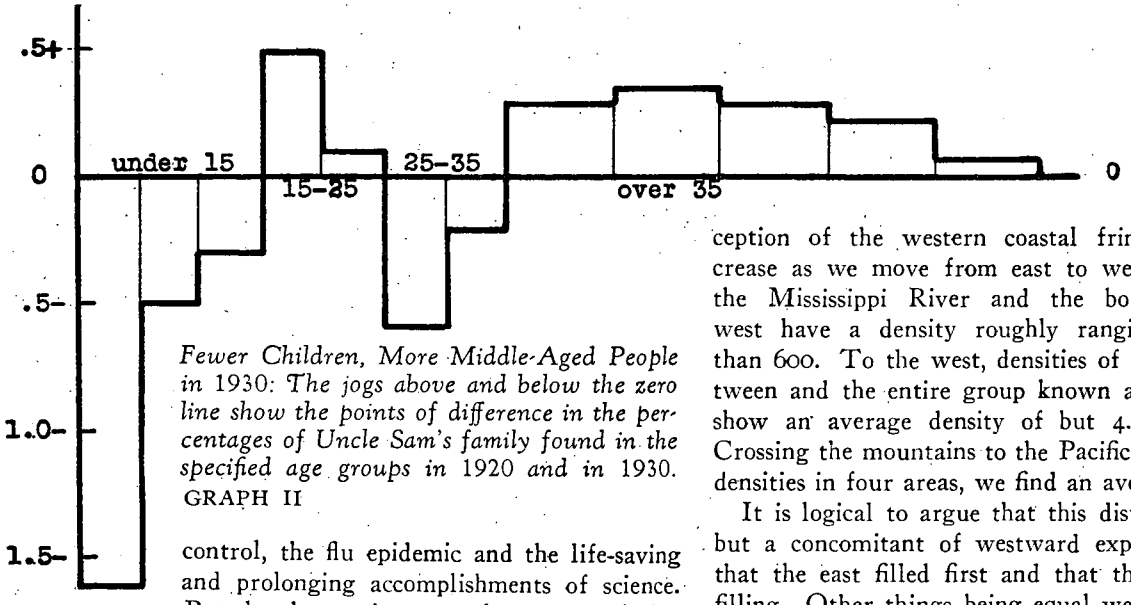
line till it disappears something like sixty years hence.

And what are the causes of this disruption? One is tempted to blame it on the Great War which undoubtedly did play an important part. Large numbers were killed and many others were variously incapacitated for life. The result has been two losses. Some were directly withdrawn from the age groups in which they would now be. Others were withdrawn in that they were never born—the potential children of both the killed and the incapacitated. Other factors have played their part, the decreased importation of young adults, the absence of their expected children, birth control, the flu epidemic and the life-saving and prolonging accomplishments of science. But, be that as it may, what we are facing is a present and not a potential situation. The composition of Uncle Sam's family is not only unusual but the normal elements are disrupted.



Fewer Children, More Middle-Aged People in 1930: The jogs above and below the zero line show the points of difference in the percentages of Uncle Sam's family found in the specified age groups in 1920 and in 1930. GRAPH II

We Are Crowded

IN 1790 the first census of the United States reported a density of population of but 4.5 persons to the square mile. One hundred and forty years later the present (1930) census finds that this density has increased more than ninefold and stands at 41.3.

In 1790 the area included in that census may be described as a wedge starting with and including the Atlantic Coast from the St. Lawrence to Florida and driving as far as the Mississippi River with the narrow western boundries of Kentucky and Tennessee as its point. The area included measured less than a half million square miles, just over 15 per cent of the area now covered by the census. This identical area now has a population of nearly 54 millions and its density per square mile is 118. Therefore comparing the same area for the two periods, we find that the density of population has actually increased not nine but 26-fold. Or, if you will, take the state of Rhode Island which was already densely populated in 1790 with 64 to the square mile. Today Rhode Island has just ten times as many, or 644. The state of Massachusetts has similarly moved from an original density of 40 to a present density of 528, or more than thirteen times. At the other extreme, the point of the wedge in 1790, we find Kentucky with a density of but 1.8 and Tennessee with less than one person to the square mile In 1930 these two states, now no longer the western frontier but well east of the center of population, have densities of 65.1 and 62.8 respectively. Kentucky has increased 36 times and Tennessee 74 times.

It is obvious that the increase in the crude density of population for the country as a whole, startling as it is, is no indication of what is happening in particular and favored areas.

By 1860 the westward movement of population had made it possible for this wedge of the census enumeration area to reach the Pacific Coast and, spreading, to include all of the continental United States with the exception of the state of Oklahoma. In 1890 this state was included and our frontier had disappeared.

Glancing now at the continental distribution of densities we find, with the exception of the western coastal fringe, that densities decrease as we move from east to west. The states east of the Mississippi River and the bordering range on the west have a density roughly ranging from 25 to more than 600. To the west, densities of 25 are few and far between and the entire group known as the Mountain States show an average density of but 4.3 to the square mile. Crossing the mountains to the Pacific States, in spite of high densities in four areas, we find an average density of but 25.

It is logical to argue that this distribution of densities is but a concomitant of westward expansion and movement; that the east filled first and that the west is progressively filling. Other things being equal we should find slow rates of increase in the filled east and rapid rates of increase in the filling west. What are the facts? Again excluding the Pacific States we find that in the past thirty years the density of population in the Mountain and the West South Central States has doubled. The New England and the Middle Atlantic States, which should have settled down, have nearly accomplished this feat. It is, strangely enough, the rich agricultural states of the Mississippi valley and to the east, that show the lowest increases in density of population.

The Pacific States, on the other hand, have increased their density more than three times in thirty years and the State of California a full four.

It is evident that Uncle Sam's family is filling the land but, on paper at least, there is a shocking disparity between the great State of Nevada with only eight tenths of a person per square mile and Rhode Island with 644; between the great section covered by the Mountain States with but 4.3 and the Middle Atlantic States of similar area with 262.6 of density. It is evident that mere density of population does not tell the entire story. Is it possible that the low densities of the West represent as great or even greater pressure of the population on the land than the higher densities of the East? In a word, are the Mountain States at 4.3 as completely "filled" as the Middle Atlantic States are at 644?

We Move to the City

IT is an interesting fact that pressure of the population on land is, at the present time, more in evidence in the areas of low density than in the areas of higher density of

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population. In the one case it is the problem of farmers who are unable to make a living off their land. In the other case it is that of laborers who are unable to find sufficient employment to keep them going. The former is a problem which is rather consistently with us: witness the work of the farm boards and the growing insistence of Congress on farm-relief measures. The latter is periodic and related to recurrent depressions. This problem is definitely tied up with the movement toward the city.

In 1920 more than half (51.4 per cent) of the population of the United States lived in urban centers of 2500 inhabitants or more. In 1930 nearly 69,000,000, or 56.2 per cent, were city dwellers. Comparing this with the general density of population we find that the higher the density, the higher the percentage of people who live in cities. In New England, for example, 77.3 per cent of the people are classified as urban. In the Middle Atlantic States the percentage stands at 77.7. Contrast this with percentages ranging between 30 and 40 for the low-density agricultural states to the west. But this is not all. Not all of the 48.6 per cent of the population classified as rural in 1930 lived on farms. Only 24.6 per cent were both rural and farm dwellers. Another .2 per cent can be added to include those who live in or on the edge of cities and work on farms thus giving us a total of less than one quarter (24.8 per cent) of the population living or working on farms. In 1920 the percentage was 5.1 greater, or 29.1.

The movement away from the farms continues. The movement toward the cities is accentuated. The rural non-farm population also shows an increase. This has nothing to do with either the decreased fertility of the soil or any decrease in general agricultural productivity. Our farmers are able to produce a larger volume of goods at a smaller cost. Science, invention and machinery have made this possible but they have also resulted in a decreased demand for farm labor. We are faced squarely with a degree of over-population and consequent population pressure on our farms. It is evident that we do not need even one quarter of our population to produce as much as we can profitably market. "God pity" the poor farmer. Congress is for him because it needs his votes. Every effort will be made to keep him on the land whether he belongs there or not.

And why do people move to the cities? Of course there are the "glamor" explanations, but when they get there they have to live and they do not stay there long unless they discover an opportunity to earn. Rural areas produce foodstuffs and raw materials. Cities consume them, work them up into finished products and market them. They are the centers of trade, commerce and manufacture. At present they are supporting more than one half of the population. The present depression would seem to indicate, at least temporarily, that they too are over-populated.

Is it possible that the cityward trend of our population is another indication of the increasing pressure of our population on the means of subsistence? Or is it merely an indication of a condition of maldistribution of population between rural and urban areas? In the latter case we can only conclude that the rural areas are over-populated and wonder for how long a time the cities can continue to absorb their surplus. Are the cities also beginning to show signs of population pressure? We will have to ask the economist to answer this question. He must tell us a number of things about the level of living, about the difficulty of maintaining standards of living, about wage levels, conditions of employment, volume of unemployment and depressions. In a word, are the 69 million who live in cities also beginning to feel the pinch? But it is best not to ask the question this year.

We Go to School and to Work

UNCLE SAM'S family must be educated and here are evidences of a necessary job well done. The years from 5 to 20 take the child from kindergarten to and often into college. Before highschool is reached the law has allowed our youth to drop out and go to work if they so desire. Many enter highschool but either do not or can not finish. It is not expected that the majority will even start the pursuit of a higher education. Still the census assures us that nearly seven tenths (69.9 per cent) of the population between the ages of 5 and 20 are in school. School attendance has made a gain of nearly five and one half million in the last decade. The per cent stands 5.6 points higher. In 1920 slightly more women went to school than men, but in 1930 the men stand a half point (.5) higher in percentage. They are still very close.

The outstanding gains in school attendance are in the last third of our 15-year period. Many more are going to school rather than to work. At 16 and 17 the increase is nearly 15 points, from 42.9 to 57.3 per cent. At 18 to 20 the increase is nearly 7 points, from 14.8 to 21.4 per cent. Beyond this point we had in 1920 nearly 345,000 in school. In 1930 there were approximately 1,035,000, or three times as many.

Uncle Sam's children are going to school and are remaining there for a longer time. His girls are being as well educated as his boys. This makes for a better trained and fitter population but it also means the progressive withdrawal of potential young producers from industry. This too is a healthful sign.

And consequent illiteracy? Of the population 10 years of age and over in 1930, only 4.3 per cent were unable to read or write in spite of our handicapped Negroes and large numbers of foreign-born. In 1920, 6.0 per cent was the figure. Interestingly enough both in 1920 and in 1930 our women are just .1 of a point less illiterate than our men.

While Uncle Sam's children are in school their fathers and many of their mothers are at work earning a living. Approximately 40 per cent of the total population of the United States is employed in gainful occupation; they work for wages, salaries or profits. About one half of the population 10 years of age and over are thus employed. Unfortunately we do not have the figures, but with such a high rate of school attendance up to 20 years of age it stands to reason that the number gainfully employed beyond that age (20) would be well over one half. The percentage of the total population gainfully employed shows a slight but definite increase. The percentage for 1930 stands .5 higher than in 1900. Considering, however, the case of the population 10 years of age and over we find a decrease of .7 points. Furthermore the per cent of the total male population gainfully employed stands at exactly 61.2, without change, in both 1900 and 1930. This puzzling discrepancy would seem to indicate increased female child labor under 10 years of age despite increased school attendance. We have, however, no evidence that anything of the sort is actually happening. The answer to the puzzle probably is that the percentages, in this case, are not comparable. This is due again to the fact of the dis- (*Continued on page* 287)

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What Grown-ups Cry For

Has an Eager Public Been Oversold on Mental Hygiene?

By STANLEY P. DAVIES

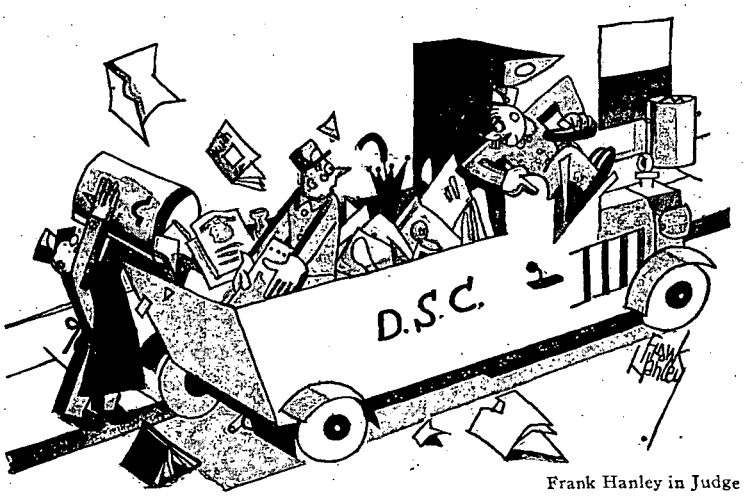
A RECENT cartoon shows the city trash collectors atop their truck busily unloading the household refuse, while the one calls to the other, "Say, Joe, watch out for an April number of Psychology for me." If timeliness is a prime essential of good publicity, mental hygiene looks promising. For better or for worse, psychology has become popularized, not to say vulgarized. Even if it is not as yet a subject of general interest among trash and garbage collectors, psychoanalysis is the topic of smart conversation. The inferiority complex and all his little brother and sister complexes are trotted out to do their conversational stuff in drawing-rooms, in dining-rooms, in club rooms, and hotel lobbies, up and down the land. In the columns of daily newspapers, on the bright jackets of books, in works of fiction and popular science, in magazine features and stories, in the cleverest ads, in the ultra-modern pages of The New Yorker, and in every problem play on Broadway, mental hygiene confronts us in some guise or other. When we sit quietly at home and try to forget it all, mental hygiene comes at us over the radio. Yes, it is true, the inferiority complex, the Oedipus complex, and their like, are bad enough, but probably the worst of these is the complex complex.

We may deplore this popularization. We may see all manner of evil in the smattering misinformation which passes for mental hygiene. Still it is perhaps not altogether perverse and abnormal that people should be interested in themselves and in the way they get themselves across to others. To be healthy-minded, we are told, we must face facts and make the best of them. This is a fact that we must face.

Some of our best psychiatrists, more keenly observant than the rest of us of the injuries to personality that result from psychological manhandling, want to call a halt to mental-hygiene propaganda, even of the legitimate variety. Mental hygiene, they say, has been oversold. A demand has been created out of all proportion to the services we are able to deliver. Therefore even if we cannot entirely call back the interest that has already been created, do nothing to create a further demand or interest, stay put until our ability to do something about it has a chance to catch up with the demand. On the opposite side of the fence are those trained in publicity and public relations, frankly unlearned in the intricacies of psychiatry, but possibly more skillful in interpreting popular psychology. They believe that it is both impossible and undesirable to stifle the widespread interest in everything psychological, and see not only the necessity but the opportunity to harness and direct that interest for the individual and social good.

Generally speaking, it is true that we cannot yet deliver on anything but a most limited scale actual treatment in psychiatric clinics, which require well-trained psychiatrists, psychologists and psychiatric social workers. Those who believe that mental hygiene is oversold in this sense, fear that the creation of a premature demand invites the development of misguided, half-baked, even though well-intentioned ventures in mental hygiene and also opens a wide field for quacks and charlatans who are only too ready to exploit all possibilities. Such a situation might be compared to the widespread national advertising of a highly desirable article so limited in production that it could be marketed in only a few places; people elsewhere, convinced by effective advertising of their great need of that particular thing, might buy inferior or spurious substitutes.

THERE is a real danger in a demand which we cannot properly meet. And yet that demand exists. I doubt that anything we can do will diminish it. When the public wants something as badly as it seems to want mental hygiene, it is probably going to get it in some form or other. The greatest danger lies in permitting illegitimate facilities to overrun the legitimate. The task of the organized mental-hygiene movement is to look that fact in the face and to deal with it as best it can.



Frank Hanley in Judge

"Say, Joe, watch out for an April number of Psychology for me"

Already the mental-hygiene movement has made appreciable progress in removing many of the ancient superstitions and prejudices which in the past surrounded mental illness and resulted in abusive and inhuman treatment of the mentally ill. As a result of concerted effort people are now being brought to look upon mental disease as comparable to physical disease, and upon the mentally ill as deserving

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of sympathy and scientific treatment as much as the physically ill. The public is beginning to realize also that mental diseases, like physical diseases, are subject to cure and improvement, as well as to prevention; that there is no more disgrace in going to a mental specialist for treatment of a mental or nervous condition than there is in going to an orthopedic surgeon for the treatment of a broken leg. In creating that more enlightened attitude, mental hygiene has scored its greatest educational success.

The advantages of prevention and early treatment of mental illness in frequently forestalling serious breakdowns and long hospital treatment, have been sufficiently shown by results already obtained in clinical work and private practice. It is simply unthinkable that we can say to people who are in genuine need of psychiatric help: "It's just too bad. We have sufficient facilities to help a few of you who live in the larger centers; the rest of you, for the present, will have to worry along until you get bad enough to be committed to a state hospital." In psychiatry we have something that some people need desperately. When we read daily of suicides, homicides, and other lesser tragedies that result from the failure to secure adequate or proper treatment and guidance for mental illness, we must know that we cannot withhold from people generally the advice that mental troubles are not to be trifled with; that expert treatment by genuine psychiatrists should be sought as soon as the first evidences of personality disturbance appear. If our organized mental hygiene facilities do nothing else, they must go the limit to see that the best possible psychiatric help is available in some form or other to everyone who seeks it and needs it.

TO be done on a sufficiently wide scale, this preventive and early treatment program must be largely a responsibility of state mental hygiene departments. Most of these departments are ready and willing and reasonably well equipped to assume this responsibility if our legislators will provide sufficient appropriations for organizing the program. Here in itself is one of the most important educational jobs that can be undertaken for mental hygiene: the creation of a strong public opinion that will make itself felt by legislative bodies and lead to the appropriation of liberal sums for community mental-hygiene work. As to the objection that skilled personnel is not available in adequate numbers to carry out such a program, I would say that our supply of trained workers will not increase unless the demand keeps constantly ahead of the supply. If the project is authorized it need not be many years in any state until a widespread chain of community and traveling clinics for diagnosis and treatment could be staffed by reasonably well trained psychiatrists, psychologists, and psychiatric social workers.

Instead of calling an indefinite halt while we wait for personnel and facilities to catch up, I am certain that progress lies in forging ahead. As to what will happen if the legitimate mental-hygiene movement shuts its eyes to this public demand, there is little doubt. The New York Herald Tribune, in a recent editorial, tells us in no uncertain terms what is happening right now:

> Misinterpretation [of mental hygiene] is fostered for profit, in every city in this country, by a great many tinkers with human mentality who operate, unqualified and unlicensed, in the shadow of psychiatry. These tinkers cannot call themselves psychiatrists because they have no medical degree; but there is nothing to prevent any solemnly glib practitioner of what they safely call "psychology" from tampering with the sanity of the neurotic or dyspeptic or simply tired and lonely person who falls into his clutches—at fifty a consultation. New York is full of these ultra-modern witch doctors, because it is full of tense, unsunned, unexercised people, with minds so feverishly active that they cannot relax and bodies so ill-kept that their nerves are always a-jingle. It is to these people that the quacks, with the Viennese hotel stickers on their handbags for diplomas, reveal their "maladjustments," and whom they demoralize and ruin with the fears and horrors that they conjure up.

In another sense mental hygiene frequently *is* oversold. Some of its would-be friends embrace it too eagerly as an almost infallible remedy for the ills of humanity and make extravagant and preposterous claims for what it can do. This is a form of promotion that might well be discouraged.

In another and even more serious way mental hygiene may be oversold, and probably is being oversold at the present time through use of the kind of propaganda which, even among intelligent, reasonably normal people, creates an overawareness of mental processes, and a tendency to self-analysis and self-excuse in psychiatric terms. Take, for example, the discussion of the difficulties of adolescence. The following incident comes from real life, not a humorous magazine. A college professor's wife was talking with her only child, a daughter of twelve years. "Wouldn't it be lovely, daughter," she said, "if we were to have a baby in the family?" The child puckered her brow and pondered. At last she replied, "Well, mother, I'm not so sure. You know I am getting into adolescence. Don't you think you'll have your hands pretty full taking care of my problems?"

Many who pride themselves on "keeping up" with psychiatric literature and lectures are in real danger of becoming too conscious of their unconscious. In their self-interpretation or misinterpretation of the significance of all that they read and hear, suggestible and unstable persons can get a seriously distorted view of themselves and their problems. Especially is this true of the interpretation by the layman of all that is written on the diseases and symptoms of the mind and nervous system. Readers with a taste for self-diagnosis look within themselves for signs and portents. They become unduly aware of their own nervous and mental mechanisms, which doubtless would function much better without so much attention. They observe in themselves what they believe to be shortcomings in personality, and build up terrific feelings of inferiority, if not an inward but unspoken dread of insanity. Where then is their mental health? All too few of those who reach this stage seek the help of qualified psychiatrists. The rest either worry along or fall into the clutches of questionable practitioners. In either of the latter courses peril lies.

RECENTLY a brilliant young caricaturist took his own life in New York City. Apparently he was well read in the kind of literature of which I speak. In a self-written obituary he declared:

> Any sane doctor knows that the reasons for suicide are invariably psychopathological, and the true suicide type manufactures his own difficulties. . . . I have always had excellent health, but since my early childhood I have suffered from melancholia, which in the last five years has begun to show definite symptoms of manic-depressive insanity. It has prevented my getting anything like the full value of my talent, and the past three years had made (*Continued on page* 280)

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The Mosaic Which Is Manchuria

By PAUL MONROE

PROVERBIALLY the politician sits on the fence while the professor takes sides dogmatically. In this case the proverbial attitude is reversed. The politicians have messed things up sadly by taking sides and starting various partisan moves; the student must sit on the fence. Perhaps from this vantage point he may see both sides. Here the comparison had better stop, since there are not only two sides, but there are four parties concerned with the Manchurian situation, not to mention the interest of the world at large.

The chief need for Americans in discussing Manchuria is not to assess the right and wrong of the situation. We may take it for granted that in this as in all similar cases there are rights and wrongs on both or on all sides. The need rather is to discover the facts which lie back of and are in part at least, the cause of the present disturbance and will still be of fundamental significance in the problem which will remain when the present impasse is resolved.

Manchuria, the land, is a vast area three times the size of California; in soil, climate and agricultural wealth and terrain similar to the Dakotas and the Central Northwest in general. In sovereignty, in general Manchuria is clearly Chinese, but sovereignty limited by many treaty obligations. Many of these were sanctioned by the discredited and dispossessed Manchu government, but some by early governments of the republican period. These governments are likewise discredited and even repudiated by the present national government and the various groups of the Kuomintang. But such discrediting is tied up with the validity of the present or any related government.

With reference to all the parties involved, it may be stated and probably admitted by all that there have been violations both in spirit and in letter of rights and obligations. The situation is a very human one. The various parties have all been accustomed at times to resort to force to maintain their interests. The Chinese have been unable to control brigandage, which is now widespread though in Manchuria more sporadic than in other portions of China. They have been unable to restrain the white Russians from marauding along the Chinese Eastern line. Chinese and Korean communists often merge into bandits and are often out of control. While revolutions of discontended or ambitious factions have been less serious and less frequent than in other parts of China, they have occurred occasionally and now with greater force than ever. The recognized local government has deliberately debased its money so as to impoverish the masses of the people and to deprive them of the value of their hard-won crops. Finally, there have been numerous instances of violence against Japanese subjects, at times resulting in murder by parties perhaps uncontrollable but at least unrestrained by the constituted authorities.

The Japanese on their part have at times exceeded their treaty rights in meeting such conditions with force. Current news records enough instances to indicate that the Japanese military have finally taken the situation in hand and have not only suppressed disorder but committed uncalled-for aggressions. It seems from a distance as though the military had gotten quite out of control of the civil authorities. There is now no denial by Japanese authorities of operation of Japanese forces far outside the treaty territory and rights.

The Japanese are great lovers of law and order and respect for authority and great believers in the efficacy of force when applied to suppressing disorder in thought as well as in deed. The Chinese, on the other hand, are quite American in their easy, laissez-faire policy in dealing with disorder, even criminality, especially when it has a political complexion and with any excesses of easy-going individualism.

The Korean is the inferior in dealing with any of the other parties and has the easy secret resort to force of those having the inferiority complex. Inflamed by ill-treatment, deprivation and economic rights, whether in Korea or Manchuria, inflamed by propaganda similar to that which moved far more intelligent masses of people in the West to retaliation and excesses, excited by gross misinformation, he resorted to force and cruelties which have resulted in actual excesses, when the original incident may have been largely the result of imagination of designing ones.

Traditionally, Manchuria, is undoubtedly Chinese territory. By the middle of the seventeenth century the Manchus had made themselves supreme over the various wandering Mongolian tribes, and from that vantage position had conquered and eliminated the decadent Ming Dynasty of China proper. From that time

Chinese headlines, Japanese headlines, Russian headlines—cables from Geneva, Washington, Tokio, Nanking and Moscow—suddenly the world wakes up to a hot spot that is full of portents. Back of the excitement lies a situation that has long been simmering. But what of the ingredients in its human brew? Professor Monroe writes informally of his impressions and brings to the writing such poise and insight and knowledge of peoples as few men possess. For in this American educator we have a Marco Polo of a new sort. Director of the International Institute of Teachers' College, his classroom is the world. Trustee of the China Foundation (Boxer indemnities), chairman of the China Institute, president of the World Federation of Educational Associations, he has been in the Orient half a dozen times. He was in Harbin last winter and will be back in the East next year after he has finished an educational survey for the government of Iraq.

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Photo by Underwood

A Japanese army proclamation in Mukden

until the Manchus were overthrown by the Revolutionists in 1911, Manchuria was part of the Chinese Empire. Though the emigration of Chinese into Manchuria had during periods been forbidden by the Manchu emperors, yet by the opening of the twentieth century the Chinese population of Manchuria had come to be about fourteen millions. Since the Revolution of 1911 frequent civil wars in China south of the Wall, together with flood and famine, have constantly accelerated this movement of population. Now the Chinese population is estimated at about thirty-two millions with perhaps a million Koreans, two hundred thousand Japanese and an almost equally large number of Russians.

In territory, population, sovereignty Manchuria is Chinese. But politically the situation is not so simple. Following the Revolution, the military Tuchun, or local feudal leader, who made himself all forceful in Manchuria, was Chang Tso-Lin. While Chang no doubt had arisen from the leadership of a small body of free lances, or bandits, he proved himself an able, perhaps might be termed a wise, leader. At least he maintained order and brought to Manchuria a greater degree of prosperity than that enjoyed by any other region of China. As long as Chang refrained from participating in the factional struggle south of the Wall, Manchuria fared very well; but from the time ambition led him to take part in the struggle for Peking (from 1920), Manchuria was drained of resources to meet the military bill. By constant depletion of the value of the currency the Manchurian government was able to drain off the product of the laborious toil of the peasant.

Chang had the best army of China, but the helpless peasants paid the bill. Chang was never popular nor trusted south of the Wall and the successive governments, whether at Peking or Nanking, were never confident of his support. Often he was reported as pro-Japanese. Some ten years ago the writer was his guest at Mukden for a few days. At that time there were many rumors of the pro-Japanese policy of Chang, which reputed rumors made him most unpopular with the Chinese government and with Chinese public opinion in general. I asked him directly what truth there was in this pro-Japanese charge. His reply was characteristically Chinese:

"Well, the Japanese are here, are they not?" I assented.

"They are very forceful, are they not?" I assented.

"I have to live with them if I govern, do I not?" Again I assented.

Then he said, "What would you do if you were in my place?"

By general repute and by observation, Chang's son and successor, "the young marshal," Chang Hsueh-Liang, is much less amenable to Japanese influence than was his father. By common report at least, the Japanese exerted influence to keep the young marshal if not hostile to, at least, indifferent to the Nanking government. The charge is that they ordered him not to recognize nor negotiate with the Nanking government. His answer was to run up the new national flag over Mukden, as it had never been done before; to make a public avowal of support of the Nanking government, and to make his military quarters at Tientsin, where he became a check on the anti-Nanking intentions if not activities of the two great uncertain quantities, Yen Hsi-Shan, the erstwhile model governor, and Feng Yu-Hsiang, the erstwhile Christian general. Whatever may be the facts of the very complicated situation, the young marshal has been much less amenable to Japanese influence than was the father. His absence from the province has given opportunity for weakening of the administration by all of his enemies, by locally ambitious generals and by the forces of disorder in general.

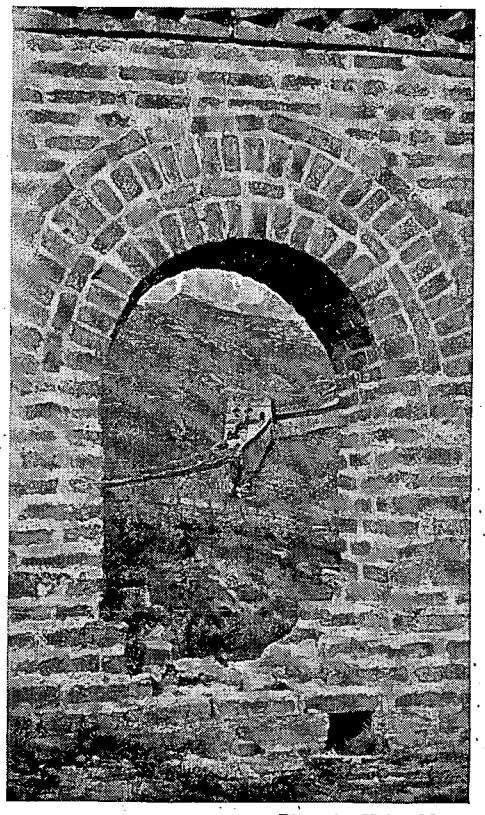

Photo by Helen Mears

Looking South through the Great Wall

The proverbial Chinese method of opposition is by passive resistance. In this they are experts. When to passive resistance is added positive opposition and constant irritation, all within legal limits but with the purpose of precipitating an unacceptable status, the situation becomes most trying. When that opposition is a virulent one shot full of passion, when the line between soldiers and police who maintain authority and order, and bandits who defy authority and order, becomes nebulous; and when this opposition is met by a continuously increasing show of force by authorities that are regarded with violent antipathy,

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the situation becomes dangerous. So it is at present.

The Japanese point of view stresses three attitudes no one of which should be difficult for Americans to understand. Naturally all three are difficult to understand, or at least are entirely unacceptable to the Chinese. These are first, security, threatened by a constantly disturbed neighbor; second, the necessity of raw materials; third, treaty rights.

The geographical relation between Korea and Manchuria to Japan is quite similar to that of Cuba and Mexico to the United States. In the past, powerful nations or supposedly powerful and dangerous nations were in the background. America's war with Spain and Japan's war with Russia were due to these situations. Disturbances which continued in Mexico for some years were similar to those which continue in Manchuria, though Russia in the background makes the Far Eastern situation more complex and serious. Continued disorder at one's door within the borders of a weak government when powerful neighboring governments and even distant ones are seeking opportunity and pretext for interference, constitutes a dangerous international situation.

Photo by Burton Holmes from Ewing Galloway

Still predominantly the East. Chinese signs in a retail street in Mukden

Such is and has been the situation in Eastern Asia now for some decades. The Sino-Japanese War of 1894 eliminated China from Korea, long her vassal, and left Japan with a protectorate soon followed by complete absorption. Japan also claimed and secured the Liao-Tung Peninsula on the same grounds. She was compelled to relinquish this territory only to see it absorbed by Russia within three years. Russia's continued interference in Korea led finally to the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5, the re-cessation of the coveted peninsula to Japan together with the two branches of the South Manchurian Railway and the accompanying rights over a broad right of way which rights have led to the present controversy. To all of this China gave approval by a subsequent treaty, signed in 1905.

The second interest of the Japanese is in the supplies of raw materials, which Japan draws from Manchuria. Manchuria has vast coal and iron mines. Though some of these have long been worked, they have been developed by the Japanese. Japan's claim to them is based on the provisions of the treaties—rights which were inherited from the defeated Russians and confirmed to Japan in a separate treaty with China. On the basis of this treaty, right of exploiting mineral wealth along the railway line and on the actual investment of capital and engineering skill which has developed these, Japan has taken a very large portion of the products of these mines on terms very favorable to herself. China's attempt to assert her interest in these products by increasing the export duty collectable at Dairen is a constant source of friction. The third great product of Manchuria is the soy bean. This supplies the chief source of income of the Manchurian peasant. Besides consuming a vast amount of the bean and its by-products, Japan draws a large revenue from the shipment of this crop over the South Manchurian Railway. Dairen, the terminus of the South Manchurian Railway and the Chinese custom port second in importance, is the chief port of shipment.

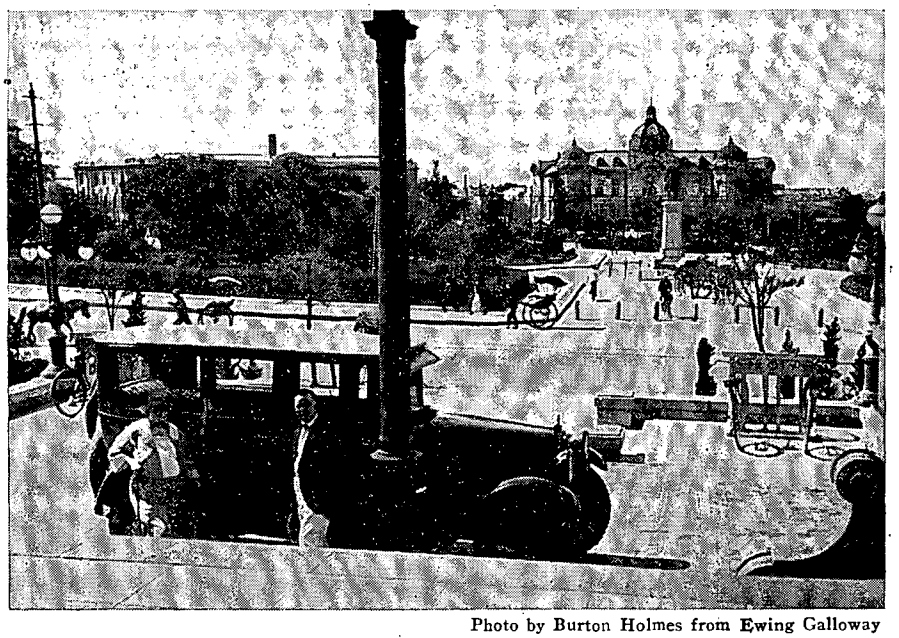

Photo by Burton Holmes from Ewing Galloway

West and East mingle incongruously in Dairen, an important sea port

China is attempting to get a share of this traffic by building a competent port (Hulutao), but more especially by building a network of railways throughout Manchuria. The treaty of 1902 forbade the building by the Chinese of lines competing with the South Manchurian Railway, but unfortunately drew no accepted definition of a competing line. This furnishes a constant source of irritation to both sides. In some of these rail lines built by the Chinese, the Japanese have furnished much of the capital, so they retain some control. This, in fact, explains some of the difficulty now occurring around Tsi-Tsihar.

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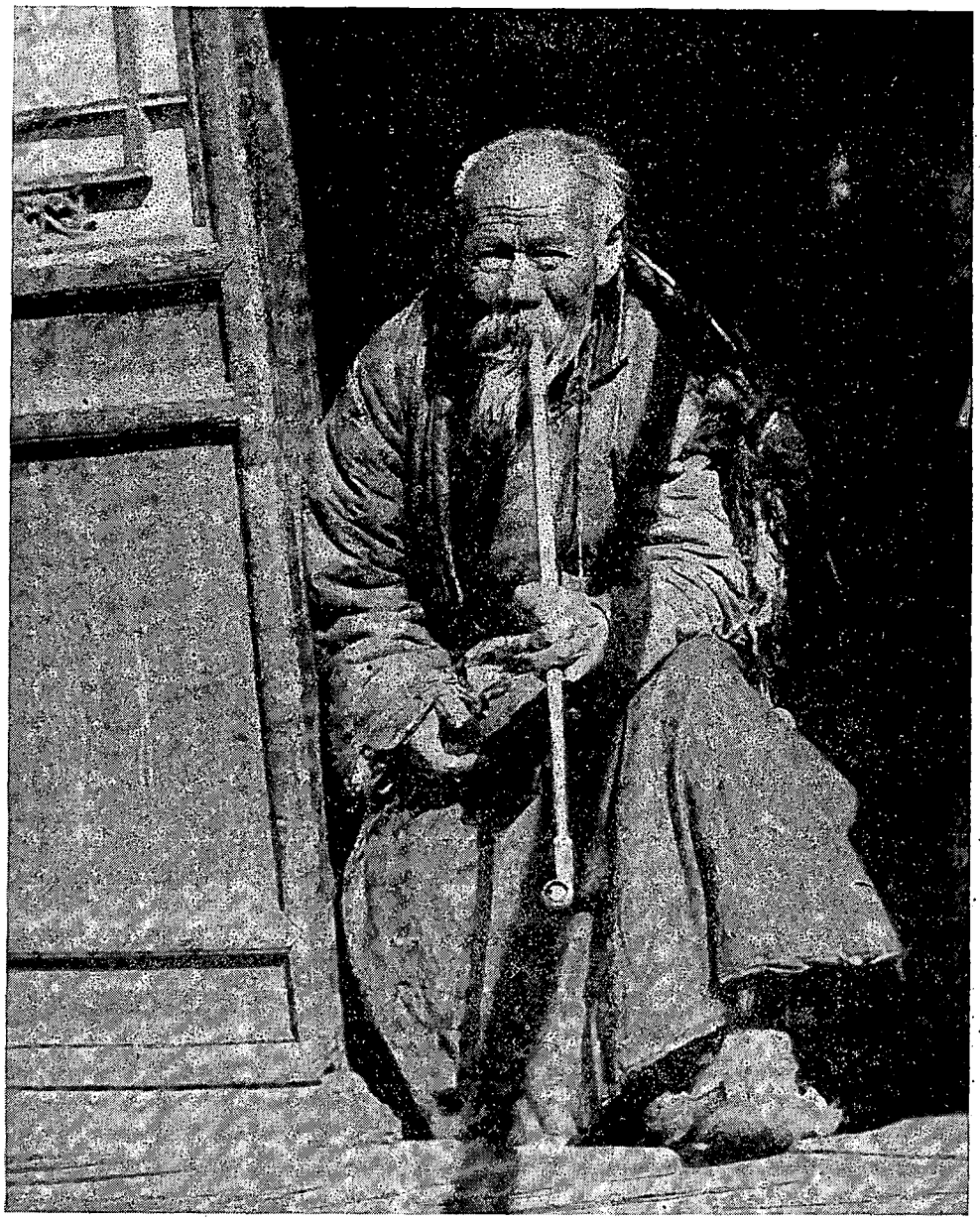

Photo by Helen Mears

This elderly Chinese smokes his pipe contentedly in the doorway of his home

The treaty rights on which Japan bases her claims are those of the Portsmouth Treaty of 1905. The following one with China (1905) and these as extended by the treaty of 1915. By the famous twenty-one demands of 1915 Japan extended the twenty-five-year lease of the Liao-Tung Peninsula for ninety-nine years, and the shorter leases of the railway and zones for a similar period. Japan also had the right to police these railway zones and adjacent properties by military police to the number of fifteen thousand. Japan claims she has not as yet exceeded this force.

Russia's interests are the traditional ones of Russia. First, is the desire for access to the ocean with ports that are not winter-bound. Second is the urge to territorial expansion which the Russians have always had. Americans should understand this for the Anglo-Saxon and the Russian are probably the greatest exemplars of this race emotion among all the peoples of the earth. It is probable that the territorial expansion of the Russians has gone on more rapidly since the Revolution than before and that vast territories, especially in Central and Southwestern Asia, have been added to the Soviet control. This extension has also happened in Outer Mongolia and some "peaceful" penetration is taking place in Manchuria. Here the situation is greatly complicated by the presence of perhaps two hundred thousand white Russians who find here the precarious refuge denied elsewhere.

Russia has long held the Chinese Eastern Railway in which China as well as Russia invested large sums of money. When after the Revolution Russia gave up her concessions in China proper and her treaty rights of extra-territoriality, she retained her financial (and along with this her strategic) interests in the Chinese Eastern. This line crosses northern Manchuria, almost one thousand miles in length, and forms the string to the bow of which the Trans-Siberian proper and the Amur River form the arc. While the line reverts to China without payment in 1956 and the Chinese have the right to repurchase at any time, neither rights have any effective significance at present. China charges that Russia uses this line as a basis for Soviet propaganda. Common report at Harbin, the railway headquarters, bear this out. But two years ago when China attempted to assert her rights of control by discharging Russian officials and backed up her policy with force, Russia countered with arms also. The Chinese forces were completely demoralized. Common report gave the Russian strength as about five thousand, and the Chinese as one hundred thousand. The negotiations to settle these disputed questions are still being carried on in Moscow.

While "common report" is the most trustworthy source of information in this region, just how trustworthy it is can be gauged by any reader. But whatever account common report gives, it is obvious that Russia has great material interests, great ambitions in these regions; and that she is willing to play a long-time game but will not see her interests thwarted. These interests include a strategic line to the Pacific Coast which the Chinese Eastern gives and the Trans-Siberian does not; and second, eventually, some warm-water outlet to the sea which again Vladivostok, the terminus of the Trans-Siberian, is not. To these ancient ambitions has recently been added that of Soviet propaganda. That communism furnishes a genuine motivation to her idealists and if not a genuine at least always an ostensible motive for her officials, cannot be doubted. But the genuineness of it as well as the strategy of it should never be forgotten by the West.

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Whether Japan and Russia shall work together depends upon the material advantages to each at any given time. To the writer the one totally inharmonious clash of color in all this mosaic is that between Russia and Japan. Neither is apt to give any major considerations to China's primary rights or to China's political or military power. The only ultimate force that each is apt to recognize is the military prowess of the other, and the moral power of public opinion of the Western world; and perhaps its economic pressure, if in any hypothetical state the West could ever possess enough unity to apply it.

The Koreans have long been residents of Manchuria. In fact the present boundary line was established only in 1907. Probably one million Koreans now live under Chinese protection, yet are mostly Japanese citizens. Most of them live in the territory adjacent to Korea but many are scattered over Manchuria, engaged in rice farming in which the Manchurian Chinese have no skill or interest. A very considerable element in the Korean population are undesirables who find living under the strict government of the Japanese in Korea proper not congenial. There are said to be many communists among these who unite with the Chinese communists to produce trouble. The vast majority, however, are peaceful, industrious and very ignorant peasants. These have taken the marsh lands unsuitable for other purposes, which the Chinese in these regions have not the skill to till, and reduced them to rice tillage. In so doing, however, they are exposed to the cupidity of more powerful neighbors or officials.

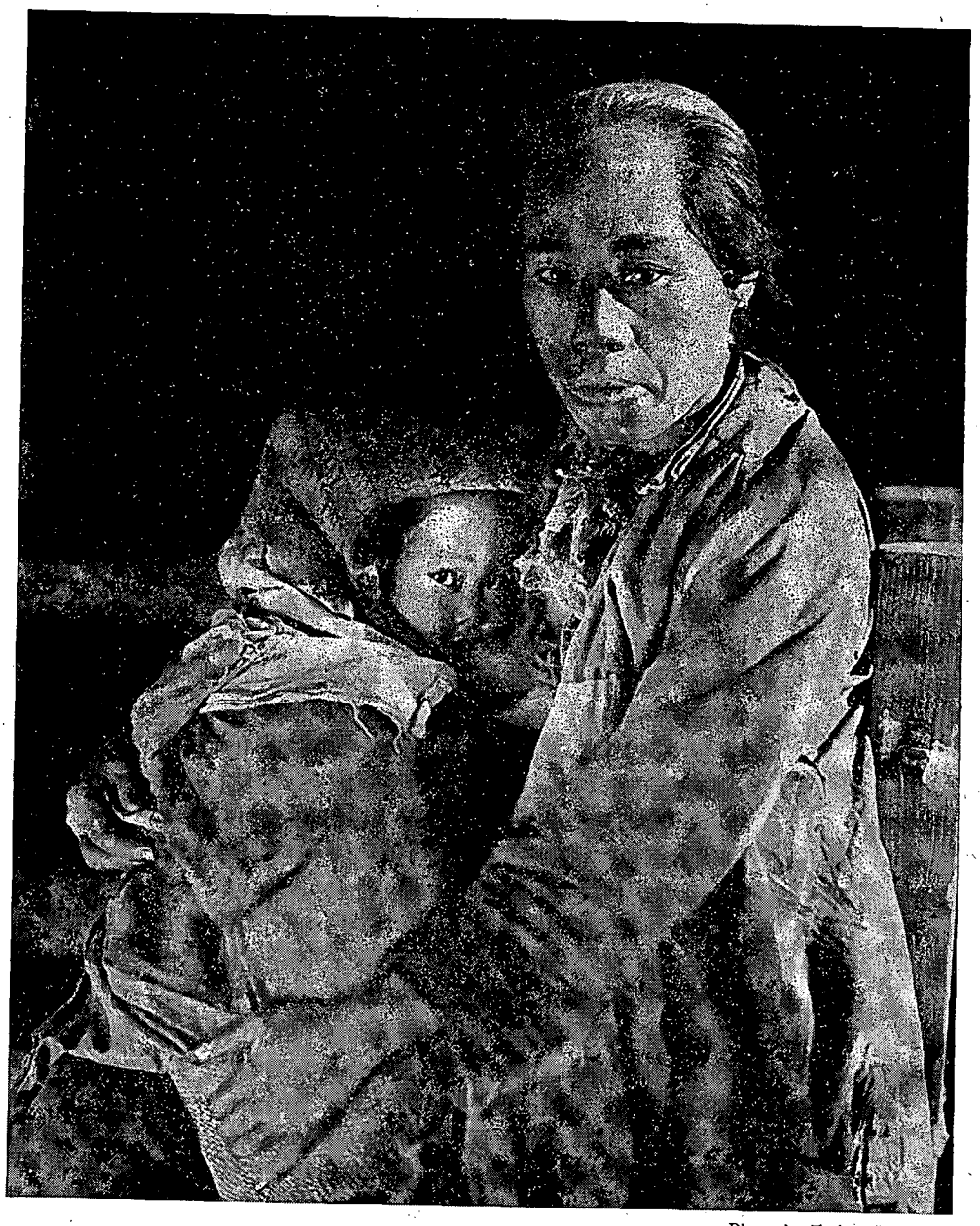

Photo by Ewing Galloway

A Chinese coolie woman of North China and her baby

The most serious of these are the two mentioned, the inability of civilian Japan to control its military and the inability of any Chinese government to maintain order, suppress banditry, control military factions and prevent outbreaks of mob emotion, or in general so to control the population as to secure observance of any international agreements entered into.

There are several other disturbing factors. One is the unreliability of news. The local press of all factions in the disturbed area is notoriously unreliable. Even the reputable papers throughout the Orient are apt to take much of their news from these same sources. One paper copies from another, which gives the stamp of truth to any wild rumor which the reporter may have picked up from the inflamed imagination of a partisan. Some exaggerations are deliberately manufactured and printed. In other words, designing propaganda may be at work. In Korea in particular, and to a less extent in some Chinese cities, the extras of the local press are but small handbills sold for the smallest coin and notoriously unreliable. Through a sufficient amount of repetition many of these rumors get into circulation as foreign news.

Racial prejudices are now inflamed and play no small part. Koreans, once subject to China, now subject to Japan, are not averse to evening the two scores at once. Japanese military and political arrogance and Chinese cultural arrogance offset each other in many situations. The keenness of economic pressure and the very great economic suffering on the part of many accentuate these antagonisms.

The incident at Wamposhan last July which precipitated all of the present trouble furnishes an illustration of the unfortunate incidents which go on continually. This one, because of newspaper exaggeration, became an international incident. A group of Korean peasants agreed to take over a tract of swamp land at a given price from a group of Chinese dealers, the right to drain (*Continued on page* 285)

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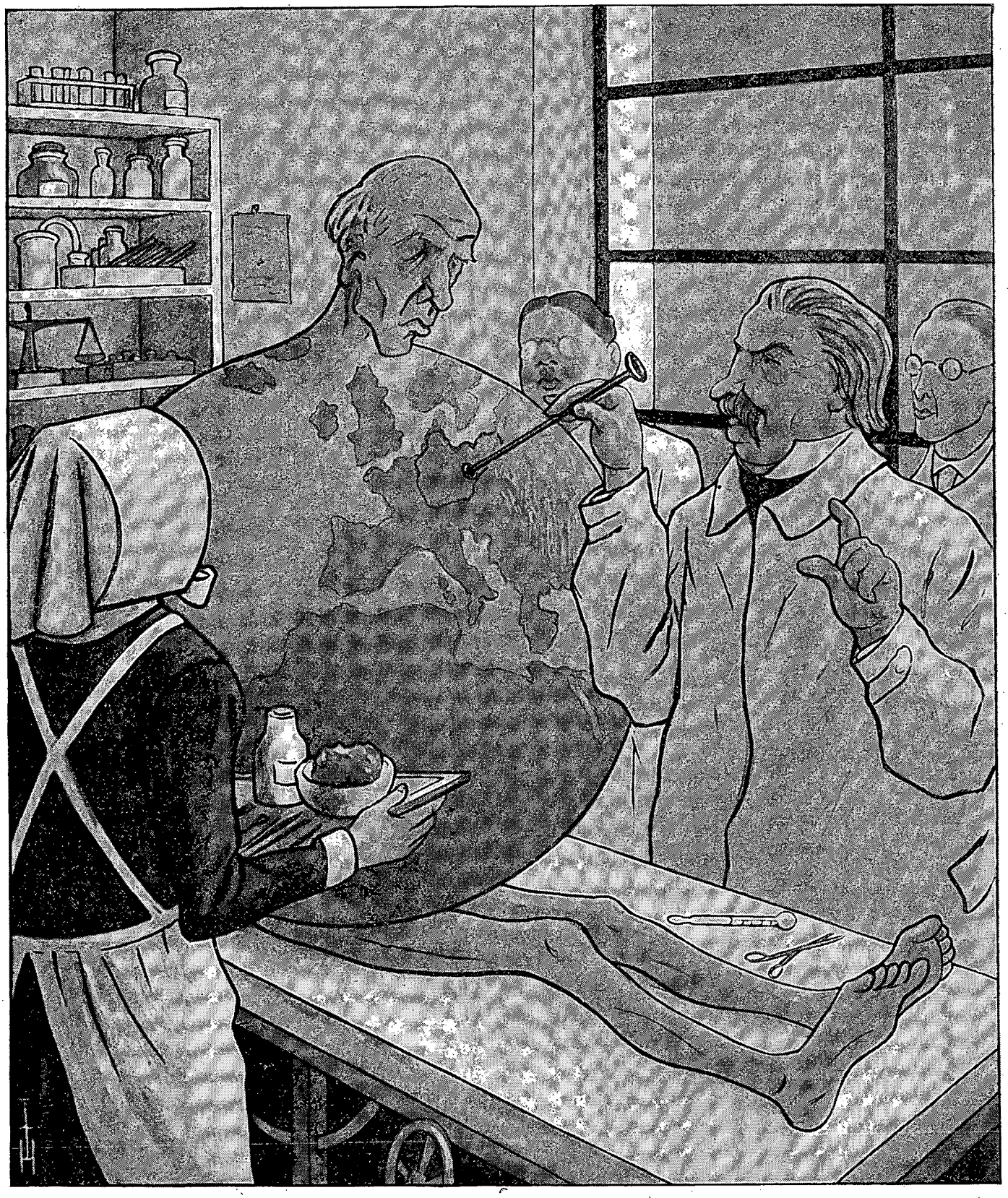

Cartoon by Heine

From Reparationsfibel. Broschek & Co., Hamburg

Germany is the heart of Europe. There's no recovery for the body as long as the heart is ailing

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German Stress

By ERNST JÄCKH

LET me begin with a question: Have you ever asked yourself who, during the past thirteen years in Germany, have taken the place of Bismarck, founder of the German Empire, who for decades combined within himself the powers of Prussian minister-president and German chancellor? The Weimar Constitution of the present German Republic particularly separated these two posts, taking special care about the filling of them, in Prussia as well as in the government of the Republic. Now two successors of the Prussian conservative national Junker Bismarck are the leaders of those two great parties which precisely because of their internationalism were persecuted for decades under the Bismarck political policy, and consequently under the new conditions have come into their present dominant position—the Social Democratic and the Catholic Centrist Parties.

The man who has represented the Social-Democratic movement in Prussia during these thirteen years is Prime-Minister Dr. Otto Braun, a former agricultural worker but a born statesman, who most probably some day will be Germany's *Reichspresident*. He dominates the coalition of Weimar together with that combination of Democrats and Catholics which even the plebiscite last August of parties from the Communists at one end to the Hitlerites at the other, could not dislocate. Prussia is two thirds of all Germany and the party controlling Prussia controls Germany—if necessary by its police-troops. There is hardly a prime minister in the whole world so powerful as to have kept his portfolio without interruption, to have controlled such a parliamentary majority, through many elections all these stormy thirteen years.

And in Germany: throughout these same years all chancellors have been either Social-Democrats or Catholic Centrists—up to and including the election of Dr. Heinrich Brüning (Centrist) who, supported by Social-Democrats, Democrats and part of the Conservatives, has become an outstanding statesman. All world-politicians who have had dealings with him—Stimson, MacDonald, Mussolini, Laval—have expressed to me their recognition of him as of a new type, so outstanding and strong that even a leader of the Nationalistic opposition has described Brüning as "the first leader since Bismarck!" So outstanding, so confidence-inspiring, that even the Protestant part of the German people feel no hostility toward him as a Catholic, but recognize him as a national and international figure and follow him.

The very nationalistic and conservative Bismarck then has been replaced by leaders of parties internationalistic and formerly of revolutionary tendencies. What does this signify? It means a complete transformation of the old Germany into a new mentality, arising out of the new international problems which fate has put upon the shoulders of Germany; out of the necessity to become the laboratory of new ideas. Or, to put it more explicitly, the laboratory for the first practical attempt to put into practice the old ideas—especially the idea of international inter-dependence and mutual assistance.

It is in the very nature of things that these two great parties, on the basis of the world-outlook, should lead Germany in this direction. The Social-Democrats and the Catholic Centrists are not committed to an economic program but to a world philosophy; the first to a faith in the international power of capitalism and its compensating balance, the social forces; the second to faith in the international power of Christianity.

STRANGE as it may appear, this union of international tendencies is assisted and strengthened by the national, moral and military authority of the former imperial field-marshal, Paul von Hindenburg, now President of the Republic, the eighty-four-year-old symbol of German unity. But these are the facts. This Hindenburg, Brüning and Braun form a triumvirate which on the basis of the democratic Constitution of Weimar guarantees peace and order and recovery: the

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Garet Garrett in The Saturday Evening Post has been painting a picture of a couchant Germany ready to spring. The Hitlerites and steel helmets add their chorus. Yet other observers tell of a Germany flat on her back, overpowered by such unemployment and business depression as will make this the blackest winter in her history. The German situation lies back of the Hoover moratorium, the British upheaval, and the French Premier's visit lies close to the crossways that confront the world.

But what of the forces for peace, for security, for revival, for western democracy imbedded in the new republic? "What can Americans do in understanding and in action," we asked of a man above others worth listening to, who happens to be here in this country—a man vivid in speech and idealism, big in things of the spirit—a friend to Ebert and Hindenburg, to Stresemann and Curtius—friend to Briand, MacDonald, Mussolini and Beneš—Dr. Jäckh is founder and leader of three of the most significant organizations which have come into existence in Germany since the war, the German League of Nations Union, the Peace Academy and the Hochschule für Politik—which The Manchester Guardian has called "the most famous and illustrious institution in Europe."

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maintenance of which is assured, however, by the influence which is wielded by the United States of America and which I will discuss later. Hindenburg, with the personal and political authority of the national hero, supports the Brüning-Braun policy of internationalism not only because of personal confidence in these two men. Braun is his East-Prussian neighbor and hunting-companion. With Brüning, who comes from Westphalia, Hindenburg is united by a war-comradeship from the time when the volunteer officer Brüning distinguished himself and his machine-gun section was especially mentioned and praised by Hindenburg in the army reports. (It may be mentioned in passing that with the exception of these two East-Prussians, most of Germany's statesmen are from the West and South, that section of Germany which is culturally the oldest political territory, since the days when Germany's emperors governed the Holy Roman Empire of German nations down into Italy and Sicily, before East Prussia was either Christianized or civilized.) These aspects are, however, not the deciding factors; the point is that Hindenburg has also the vision and the courage to draw conclusions from the realities of a new era, wherein mutual interdependence and compensating balances are the main factors.

THE German leadership and the majority of the German people recognize with steadily increasing clarity the fact that the World War has initiated a new history; for the first time a *world* history. All former history was that of national groups. The war was not only the "Great" War, it was a common experience of all humanity. It involved the result of technical discoveries and inventions brought about through the new world-unity. And it was the first recognition, and the beginning of understanding of that unity. This war represents at once birth-travail (*Geburtsschmerz*) and birth-help (*Geburtshelfer*).

In retribution for the World War we now have a world crisis. There is no nation able to settle a problem *alone*. Nor is there any world-problem which can be solved separately from the other world problems. This is why the French prime minister, Laval, the British prime minister, MacDonald, had to go to Washington to see President Hoover. This is why Brüning, MacDonald, Laval, Mussolini, Mellon, Stimson have exchanged visits at London, Berlin, Paris, Rome. This is what Brüning had in mind when he said to me, "What Europe needs is a regular weekly discussion among its statesmen." In other words, to quote from Benjamin Franklin, "We hang together, or we hang—separately." So do reparations, war debts, disarmament, hang together. The Washington conversations between Mr. Hoover and M. Laval have for the first time recognized and formally confirmed these relationships.

THIS new era of "World War," "world crisis," "world court," League of Nations, "International Bank," "International Labor Office," of "broadcasting and stratosphere" (words and concepts non-existent twenty years ago)—this new world, is the result of a century of scientific and technical conquest of the cosmos by mankind since Benjamin Franklin's exploits with electricity; at the same time it is the cause of a practically unconscious as well as conscious transformation of the human spirit. Even before the World War this transformation was sensed by the German economist and philosopher Walter Rathenau:

> Nothing will be forthcoming of itself; everything will have to be created anew by indefatigable work. Our way of life will be new; our economics, our social structure and the form of the state will be new. So also will the relations of the states be new—world intercourse and politics! Our science will be new, and even our language.

The new words and phrases which I have cited above also illustrate the last recognition and comment; the German philosopher Max Scheler went so far as to say:

> The fundamental difference separating this new era of a new world history from the past two thousand years of Christianity is as great as, or perhaps still greater than, the difference between Christianity and early Greece. Not only are institutions and the mass of mankind changed, but man himself, his ideals, his thinking and his spirit.

It is not so different from what President Grant in 1873 foresaw when he said:

> Commerce, education and rapid transit of thought and matter by telegraph and steam will change everything. I believe that our Great Maker is preparing the world, in his own good time, to become one nation, when armies and navies will no longer be required.

Notice that here he recognized and expressed the dual change—both in technical development and in ideas. Here we have an indication of the characteristics of this new era. Mutual interdependence through technical development and ideas, and the compensating balance in all fields. . . . Of new relationships between space and time in physics (the relativity theory of Einstein); between electrons and protons (the atomic theory of Planck); between body and soul, conscious and unconscious (the psychoanalysis of Freud, Jung, Adler); between tones and part-tones (the new atonal music). A new relativity and relationship—socially (between capitalism and socialism); economically, politically; between mankind as generations and sexes, as individuals and collective groups; between states and peoples and races, their minorities and majorities. A new relativity and relationship between the parts of the world and the world as a whole. . . . And so on. And this does not seem to me to be something accidental. It seems to me to be something taking place in accordance with a cosmic law. For the first time in all history a joint event, a team-work of personalities of all nations.

IN such a new world, of mutual interdependence in all and everything, the New Germany, because of its unique position, somewhat like Palestine, is that laboratory for experimenting in international interdependence. As in a former issue of Survey Graphic,[1] I again set forth four fundamental conditions of Germany:

> First, Germany is the most internationally located country, without natural protection by sea or mountain.
>
> Second, Germany is the most internationally placed people without national boundaries for her population which is composed from practically all of the neighboring peoples.
>
> Third, Germany is the most internationally isolated state without national defense and without political treaties or alliances.
>
> Fourth, Germany is the most internationally dependent economic unit because of lack of raw materials and foodstuffs and of excessive war and post-war indebtedness and the absolute necessity to export.

This is the practical meaning of the metaphor, "Germany is the heart of Europe." In 1926 the American section of the International Chamber of Commerce emphasized another aspects of this situation: (*Contiued on page* 283)

1) Survey Graphic, February 1929. The New Germany. Article, The Spirit of the New Germany, by Ernst Jäckh. 50 cents postpaid of Survey Graphic.

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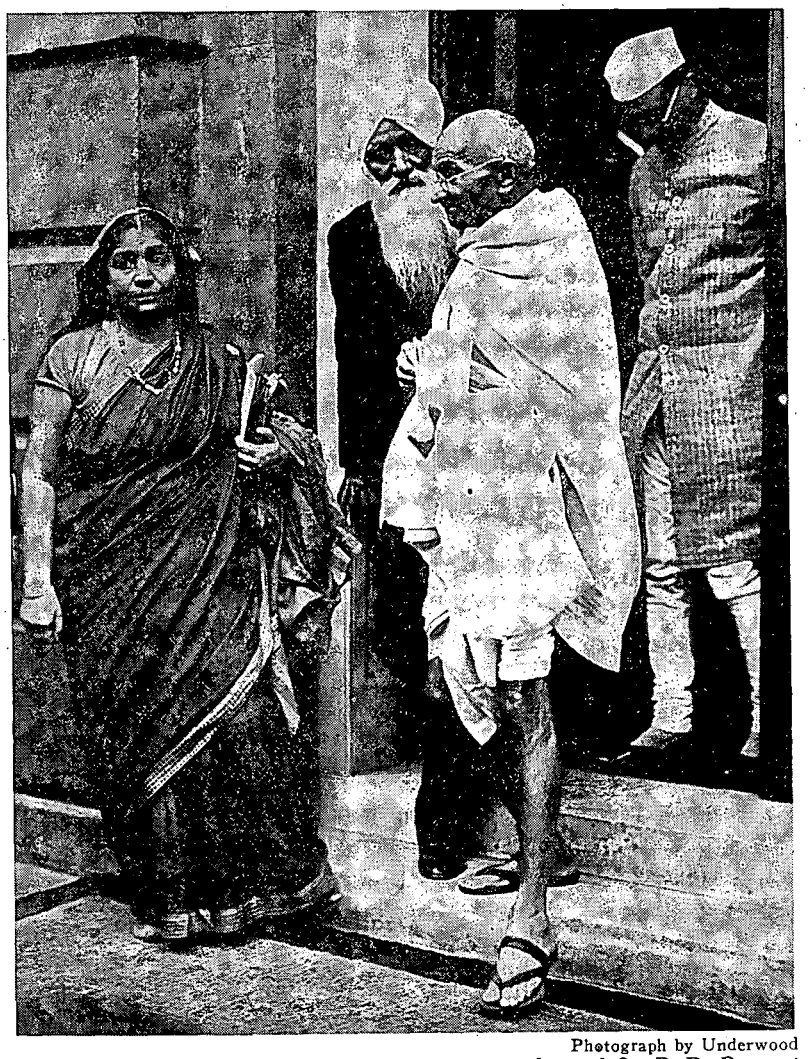
GANDHI at the ROUND TABLE

By S. K. RATCLIFFE

Wells, Bertrand Russell, Chesterton, premiers and publishers—there's a Canterbury pilgrimage of visitors—a backwash of Puritans—who speak to us in our common English tongue. But the man who has interpreted modern Britain to literally thousands of Americans in ways they "get" is S. K. Ratcliffe. He's known and wanted at city clubs and forums and women's clubs and colleges and churches from one end of the country to another. But Mr. Ratcliffe knew his India before he knew his United States, as editor of The New Statesman of Calcutta. And here he writes of the negotiations in London from that background. In a succeeding article he will take up the social situation facing the new government at Westminster after the amazing election that leaves a Socialist premier at 10 Downing Street and a tremendous Conservative majority on the benches of the House of Commons at Westminster.



Photograph by Underwood

Gandhi leaving the conference with Mme. Naidu and Sir P. D. Pattani

AN American friend of mine was traveling from Bombay to England shortly before the Round Table. Among his fellow-travelers were a number of the Indian delegates whose presence on board gave an added interest to the radio news about the conference. One day the announcement came that arrangements were being made for Mahatma Gandhi to visit certain typical cotton towns in Lancashire, whose trade with the Orient has been admittedly damaged to an alarming extent by the Indian boycott. My friend was struck by the anger of the English people on board the P. & O. liner, and by their prediction as to what would happen if the Mahatma were foolhardy enough to show himself among the mill workers. Gandhi in Lancashire, they asserted, would probably be lynched!

Seated among a few disciples in the house overlooking Hyde Park that was lent to him by a wealthy Indian for his London headquarters, Mr. Gandhi spoke to me with keen delight of two things in particular—the overflowing welcome given to him in the cotton towns, and the wonderful friendliness shown by everyone in the East End of London where, in the settlement house presided over by Muriel Lester, he has been provided with a quiet refuge throughout his stay.

When he related his experiences in London and the North we informed him that they contained no matter at all for surprise. British people who have lived for a long time on the outskirts of Empire are apt to forget all they ever knew about the character and behavior of their fellow-countrymen at home. No one acquainted with the North of England and its workers could have had a moment's doubt as to the nature of the Mahatma's reception. These are amongst the jolliest and kindliest people in the world, and what they do not know about sportsmanlike feeling is certainly not worth mentioning .

The first thing, therefore, to say about Mr. Gandhi in England is that as a human being he fulfils the highest expectation. How, indeed, could it be otherwise? His is an entirely integrated personality. He has laid down for himself a way of life and is scrupulously faithful to it. His attitude and manner and his relation to all the people he meets are in accord with the faith by which he lives. No man in the world, perhaps, has come into close contact with a greater number of men and women, and—let us not forget—the happenings of an extremely varied career have made him, in a peculiar sense, a citizen of the world. It seems to me, in a word, that on the personal side his visit to England could not have been less than a triumph.

The second Round Table makes a striking contrast to its predecessor. A year ago the stage was superbly set. There was a royal opening with the speeches broadcast over the world. There were plenary sessions with full-dress debates; fine orations which the correspondents cabled at surprising length. India in London made a world spectacle. Anyone may see that if Mr. Gandhi had been at St. James's Palace last winter the sensation (*Continued on page 274*)

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Los Pastores

By IVAH E. DEERING

"I love Pastores. It is better for me than ten operas. It belongs to the Mexican people."

IT was a clear, crisp California night. Into the dim street the windows of the San Diego Neighborhood House shone bright and inviting. Making our way through a door close-packed with people, we entered a small, intimate, homelike auditorium. About the walls and at every window stood long palm branches. A slightly raised platform at one end was a bower of shrubs glittering with tinsel, and in the midst an altar on which were grouped tiny images of the Holy Family. Through the hall, filled to overflowing with Mexican families together with a few American friends, ran a low and happy murmur. Fathers, mothers, children, tiny toddling babies filled every corner, chatting together, calling across the hall.

Then an absolute silence as an announcer came forward and with many motions of hands explained in Spanish all that was to come. A small boy leaned against the bricks of the fireplace, hands in pockets, mouth open, eyes on the door. A spirit of reverent stillness pervaded the assembly; a hush fell as the company of players filed in singing of the Star in the East and the Babe of Bethlehem.

In traditional costumes, fantastic to our American conception of the characters represented, they wandered on to the stage. No music to accompany their singing except the jingle of the bells and ornaments on the shepherds' staves. Long, interminably long, with much gesturing; something of the church ritual evident in intonation and attitude. And with all a simplicity and sincerity which made of the play a sacrament. Yet the hermit with his shaggy beard, and Bartola, the lazy one, drew shouts of laughter from the audience—understanding and courteous laughter always. No one cared that cues were passed openly from one to another of the actors; cues are always given openly on the Mexican stage.

THE story, as I received it from the picture and from the few phrases my untrained ear could catch, was the old, old story of the shepherds (Los Pastores) who follow the Star and, finding the Babe, worship, bringing gifts. The traditional variation was the introduction of the struggle of the angel Michael with Lucifer. For two and a half hours the story progressed. Only the American guests were restless before the actors, in procession, finally moved out singing to the kitchen, where *buñuelos* (cakes like fritters) and syrup were served them. Had it been the first night the actors would have proceeded to the church for midnight mass. But tonight, after the supper, all went quietly to their homes and the audience spoke softly as they left the hall.

Something in the scene gripped us who saw Los Pastores for the first time. Even before we knew that one of the players had come many miles for rehearsals, had lost his position because of his absence from home and been cared for by Mexican friends in San Diego, we sensed devotion in all who participated. Later we learned that one of the older men could neither read nor write but had pieced together from boyhood memories one whole section of the play. The lines, together with the songs, he had dictated to a stenographer. Naturally he became an integral part of the drama. For Los Pastores is not a drama written by one person and so preserved, to be produced by accomplished actors. It has been a part of the peasant life of Mexico for so many generations that no one knows when it began. Some lines seem to refer to old Spanish days and have been kept after their significance has been long lost.

IN no two sections of Mexico will the lines ever be the same. Hence it is only by tremendous labor that anything has been preserved which may be called Mexican folk lore. A book called Los Pastores, published by Houghton, Mifflin and Company for the American Folk Lore Society, has been helpful, but the real sources of the play have ever been the memories of the people of Mexico. The San Diego Neighborhood House has in manuscript the various sections which they have gathered together.

In the effort to find an explanation of the intangible atmosphere of reality which persists throughout the fantastic and stilted rendition of the play, we have spent much time with the guiding genius of the Mexicans, Mrs. Wilfrida Brackett, herself a Mexican, in the little milk station where she serves her people.

It was here that her own story came to us that January day some years ago. With real humility we approached the busy little room. In our minds was contrasted Los Pastores, as we had felt and seen it, and the general conception of the Mexican as we know him in the United States.

We have seen the Mexican workman brought here to satisfy the demands of American capital; we have seen the careworn, slovenly woman at her kitchen stove. We are familiar with the Mexican child at school and at play in our land. We have seen him always at a disadvantage—a stranger in a land of new customs and over-many demands. Under the stress of his effort at adjustment, much of his spontaneity and joy has been crushed out. Here and there however exists a person who has known and understood, and persisted in the attempt to keep some of the beautiful old customs to enrich the life of the Mexican and through him the life of all of us in the United States. Among these courageous souls I shall always think of Mrs. Brackett, as she goes about her simple service to her people.

Into the tiny clinic room at Neighborhood House we slipped and sat watching the little faces brighten as they came for help or advice. At last she was free for a moment and dropped wearily but happily into a chair. Her own words, halting in her effort to tell us of her faith in and

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her efforts for Los Pastores, will perhaps convey something of the history but more of the spirit of the old miracle play.

"Your childrenes well? Yes? And you yourself? You want me to tell of Los Pastores. Very well. I tell you why I like to give the Pastores: it is a holy play; every word is sacred.

"My grandmother and her sister raised me in the mountains of San Andreas. These two old ladies go every year to make Pastores. . . . No movies then; no candles, either. We used the *pine* [torch].

"Only one, two persones know to read and write. One lady, the leader, she know to read, but very bad I remember, very bad. And the mens no wear trousers and coats, all wear clothes like—like my apron.

"I had nine years. My work was to carry charcoal to light cigarettes. All the childrenes were proud to carry charcoal. Well, the Pastores began to sing. There were no sucha chairs; somebody on benches, somebody on floor—but then it was wonderful Everybody come to the front to speak. No one tell to sing or to move the hands. You move your hands when you feel it.

"It took three months for the practice. I was no graeceful enough to do it but everybody love me because my grandmother went to lead the Pastores. When I had twelve years someone said to me, 'You going to be leader next year.' I learn to read in a pray book. I had no teacher.

"Then I had twelve years and I lead Pastores. I stop smoke anybody when play going. The others no bother much because they used to smoking. Sometimes so much smoke that singers cannot sing. It hurt the throat. I no like smoke because it is sacred play, so I put up little sign. Some men want to leave play. I was in bad shape. But finally they stay—and they never smoke.

"Till I was fifteen I lead the play. After that came a new generation. They like new things. But I never leave Pastores. When I leave Mexico I have to leave all Pastores things [costumes and sets] behind. Here people are working people. They read and write. Very independent. No want to come stay till ten o'clock just for my desire. But they very nice."

"HOW did you happen to start the Pastores in San-Diego?"

"One time Miss Snyder [the headworker at that time] asked me give Christmas play. I say, 'I try and if I no succeed it will be a secret.' Well, my time came up. My first practice night it rain very hard all day long. I had been to Water Front, to Old Town, to Otay, to El Centro and Ocean Beach to ask to come. Well, I had five men in my meeting. They said, 'We want you lock doors'."

"You had many difficulties the first year?"

"Oh, yes! The girls wanta go to movies. They were hard to show up. I had to be patient. I work all day Sunday. Eleven show up but no one want sing or do anything. But we made it.

"I had no money for Pastores. One man paid own way from El Centro. Then he lost his job. I give him three dollars a week groceries, another lady give house free, another washa the clothes for him till Pastores was over. We practice two months. I wasa in an agony for two months. I supposed to have all mens, but I mix girles and mens. The girles hold the mens. You see? Finally my play came up.

"Some girles leave me. No wanta wear old-fashioned costumes. Yes, I make all the costumes at my house. No let anybody else see till last night. Then the girls say, 'Do I have to wear that?' 'Yes,' I say, 'It all advertised, it's a play!' They do it, but they no come back. In Mexico you make own costume. You hide it, you no let anybody see it. Here very different. The girls want velvet dresses and gloves. The kings want leggings, gloves. I have to work my fingers off to get things for them."

"What are the ages of the players?"

"Oh, I take old ladies, old mens, boys, girles; this year I have forty-five, eighteen, fifty-seven, nineteen—all years. Once an old man came fifty-nine years old. He want us put in three Kings with Herod. He know all this in mind, from grandfather, great-grandfather. He no read, no write. He direct this part. He have a terrible voice and I had to let him spoil all my tunes, but he know this and we don't.

"THE first Pastores was Christmas Eve. We had *buñuelos;* they looked beautiful. We had dancing too. But there should be no dancing because it is a holy play. When we finished Pastores we go to church—to bless the Baby. The Pastores march to the church and sing. Then the father have the mass. Yes, the play connects with every church. After the mass I see the girles home. When you make a real play it carry you from eight o'clock till four in the morning. But in this country you Americans have so much to do there is not time for whole play. We use a concentrate!

"One Pastor sent to his folks, had written part sent. We have music by memory. We sang and Amado made the note. One thing seems perfectly strange. The children start the tunes in every house in September. The cold weather bring that; everybody sing on street everywhere.

"I no feel to change Pastores because we never change in Mexico. There the Pastores start with poor people. Make herb tea and always *buñuelos.* Sometime they kill a lamb in mountain towns. The first night the play is given to the church—the first night belongs to the Baby. Then everyone of Pastores can take a night to his friends. You say to your friend, 'I plan to bring Pastores to your house next week. I wish you accept that as a present.' Then the friend has the obligation to make an altar and a supper for the Pastores. You always give the Pastores to someone who has enough to eat! They know where is the big house! If no big houses then outdoors in courts of houses. You always have to be ready when other Pastores want to go. You carry this all through January in Mexico. When it is over you begin to wait for next year.

"The new generation give another play—Pasadas, but it never takes the place of Los Pastores.

"When I went back Mexico, at Juarez, a good friend wanted me to be guest at grand opera in El Paso. Bought tickets. I heard of Pastores by children in poorhouse and want to go. Had hard time, but I love Pastores. It is better for me then ten operas; it belongs to the Mexican people.

"I always work for Pastores. I no get paid. No one ever get pay for lead Pastores. I tell you this is the pay you get. It is the beauty!"

And Mrs. Brackett, unmindful of the thrill and wonder she had left in our prosaic hearts, passed on to see that Pedro is well nourished and clean.

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Paying the Fine

By JOHN PALMER GAVIT

SAM JONES—"Golden Rule Jones"—as mayor of Toledo used once in awhile by virtue of his status as chief magistrate of the city, to preside in police court. Upon a day in a winter like this one, of unemployment and widespread destitution ensuing, they brought before him a man arrested for stealing a loaf of bread. The accused made no defense other than that, abundantly supported by the evidence, that he was out of work, could get neither job nor food; that he and the members of his family were hungry.

"I've got to punish you," said the mayor. "Stealing is stealing; the law makes no exceptions. You stole, not from the community which is responsible for these conditions as well as for the law which you have violated, but from an individual; from this baker, who could not afford nor be expected to distribute loaves of bread to everybody who happens to be out of a job. So I can do nothing but sentence you to a fine of ten dollars, or ten days in jail."

But the mayor was reaching down into his pocket as he added:

"Ten dollars. And here is the money to pay your fine. And I remit the fine. Furthermore . . ." the mayor turned round and from the chair behind him took the big white sombrero that all Toledo knew so well, and tossed a ten-dollar bill into it. . . . "Furthermore, I'm going to fine every person in this room fifty cents, or as much thereof as he happens to have with him, *for living in a town where a man has to steal bread in order to eat!* Here, Mr. Bailiff"—handing the hat to a court officer—"go through the courtroom and collect these fines, and give them to this defendant."

THAT awful winter. I was living in Chicago Commons, in the midst of a ward a mile square containing thirty thousand people of thirty-eight nationalities, and one tree. I remember inducing people to give us money, and carloads of coal, and corn meal, and barrels of molasses, which we distributed among those who otherwise would have starved and frozen to death. Those experiences remain indelibly in my mind, with the fact that there were two weeks of temperature continuously below zero.

The letter-carrier brought word of "two little girls, round the corner in Kinzie Street, frozen—I just now saw them." I ran round there through the snow. At the top of the stairs in the little wooden house were four inches of ice; the water-pipes had burst and overflowed the whole place. And in the corner of the room within, there they were, on a layer of old quilts, covered with a tattered rag-carpet; unconscious, all but lifeless. From the settlement we brought blankets, wrapped them up and rushed them in, to save their lives and thaw out their frozen feet and hands. It was weeks before they could walk. Their parents? They were gone; we never saw them again.

Across the street we found a basement where there was a mother with a new-born baby, and chickens frozen. About that time I visited a tenement where women with fingers stiff with the cold were working on furs, destined for one of the high-grade stores where Mrs. Millions would buy them. In an adjoining room lay a child, dead of diphtheria. I have often imagined Mrs. Millions, her own child mysteriously infected, having all the plumbing in her house torn out—little realizing that she was attacking sanitary conditions in the wrong neighborhood! Fined on Lake Shore Drive for community neglect far down on Halsted Street.

ALL the time, but more than commonly just now, we are paying heavily and in manifold ways for living in a country, in a world, so badly arranged and so stupidly managed that thousands of people, ready and anxious to work for their living, can't find anything to do, and respond to that dismal situation, each in accordance with his individual temperament.

Some steal, some beg in the streets; some whose number never can be known, starve despairing in their corners; or, more commonly and little better, from chronic under-nutrition degenerate in health and nerve. A great multitude are living from hand to mouth upon funds doled out in various forms of charity, or drudging through ghastly days at odd jobs contrived for them for which they have neither fitness nor zest; at first hoping somehow to regain a footing in security and self-respect, but in innumerable cases sinking lower and lower and at last permanently in the demoralization of unresisting or even willing parasitism. Families lately buttressed by reserve funds and owned homes established in better days by thrift and self-denial are breaking up; bright hopes for education of children and safety in old age have faded out, never to be revived.

No figures can state the amount that we are paying. The money-loss, the failure to create wealth, the depreciation of idle capital in machinery, transportation, shops and ships, is the least of it. Far worse is the loss of faith in ourselves, the degeneration of skill and ambition, the clogging of useful brains with the dust and rust of idleness and discouragement. Worst of all is the irreparable damage to childhood, to the generation that will succeed us; not alone in terms of physical deprivation, hunger, cold, shabbiness of life; but in the even deeper harm, from the general atmosphere of a demoralized environment.

William James, commenting upon Jane Addams's Spirit of Youth and the City Streets, declared that "the essential and perennial function of the youth-period is to reaffirm authentically the value and charm of life." Precisely at that point our mismanagement of the world is working havoc upon the best of our human capital. It will bear its destined fruit very concretely and long afterward. Grace Abbott, chief of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, in a recently published newspaper article pointed to one sure aspect of it:

> As a result of our lack of foresight we are now in the midst of confusion. We must resort to temporary expedients, and the children of the unemployed will pay for it. They will be undersized, because they have been undernourished. Large numbers will fall victims to tuberculosis when, as young wage-earners, they are subjected to the test of regular employment, and the year of bleak uncertainty will leave its mark upon their personality. None of us can be happy about what is now being done. We deserve to be unhappy about what we have not done.

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Upon the children chiefly falls the demoralization of these days and the effect of makeshift substitutes for right relationships. Directly and indirectly . . . Ramsay MacDonald described to a friend of mine one of the results of the "dole" in his country. "Thousands of children in Great Britain never have seen their fathers do a tap of work. They are learning that there is no shame in being idle."

The effects of such conditions are not academic; they can be horribly concrete. A certain man living in California might have heard with little personal concern about a family being badly brought up in Kansas; but there came a day when a boy of that Kansas family cut up into pieces that Californian's little daughter, and it was small comfort to pass the buck to the gallows. Every "gold star" in America is the measure of our individual concern with the state of human affairs and the conditions even of domestic life, in very far corners of the world.

It is quite true that the world owes no man a living. But it does owe him a chance to earn one. The social organization which we have made—or, rather, which we have permitted to come about helter-skelter—has taken over the responsibility for opportunity, for the exercise of that "sturdy individualism" which has become almost a meaningless phrase, and has fallen down lamentably on the job. We are all taking the consequences.

CONSIDERATIONS such as these bring home to every person the fact that our own welfare hangs upon the state of the world as a whole. We are having it drilled into us that the welfare of our own homes can be wrecked by conditions which formerly seemed the affair of folk and forces beyond our ken. Kings and so-called statesmen in foreign countries, financiers, makers of tariffs and treaties, wars and rumors of wars, marched across the pages of newspapers and history books in an unreal world. Now it has all come home to us, afflicting us in the innermost corners of our lives. Right into the family strides the specter of Reparations, of the effects of our own tariff and that of other countries. The really Big Fellows in our affairs see the handwriting, and are big enough and brave enough to say it out loud.

"Every country," says Thomas W. Lamont for example, "declares that excessive protectionism is a bad thing for the other country, but a good and necessary thing for itself." He, a life-long Republican and probably in former times an advocate of protection for its own sake, has come to see, and makes no bones of declaring it a "major cause" of the world's "limping along."

Here in the United States, he says, "we blithely go forward to set up new and higher barriers for trade to try to leap over or fall prostrate before."

William Cooper Procter, head of the great Procter & Gamble soap factories, faces the facts. Quoted in an editorial in The Cincinnati Post he declares that "major adjustments" must be made to remedy the conditions of unemployment, meager industrial profits and heavy tax burdens. And he specifies these adjustments, all of them bearing upon the international relationships which have been thrown into confusion by the results of the War:

> The first of these major adjustments is that the war debts should be greatly reduced or canceled. They cannot and will not be paid, and the sooner the situation is accepted, the better it will be for the whole world. With the reduction of war debts, national expenditure also should be cut to a minimum by the reduction of armament. . . .
>
> Whatever may have been said in the past concerning the advantage to us of a high tariff, it is certainly true that the tariff now is a handicap to us and to the entire world. Our workmen in this country would also be greatly benefited if tariff reduction could be brought about. The tariffs imposed by the various nations have reduced foreign buying power and therefore operate toward reduction of employment and wages in this country and throughout the world.

Senator Borah, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, who hardly can be accused of excess of internationalistic zeal, spoke to almost exactly similar effect, right in the midst of the conference between Premier Laval of France and President Hoover. He said it to the correspondents of the French newspapers. I personally believe that he said it at the most appropriate time and to the right audience, voicing a great and growing sentiment in the United States aganst the iniquities of the post-war "settlements."

THESE are only three among a chorus of voices to one general effect. Yet the process of understanding is clogged by limitations of the intelligence which in the last analysis controls our political action. As H. L. Mencken said in reviewing Sinclair Lewis's Main Street, the normal American is a person of almost unbelievable stupidities, well fed, well dressed, complacent and almost destitute of ideas. He clings to the old political shibboleths and slogans as if nothing had happened in the world. The United States Chamber of Commerce, recently appealed to to devote attention to the questions of reparations, disarmaments and tariffs, blandly recommended these questions to the consideration of the International Chamber of Commerce; meaning by that action to imply that these are questions which are of importance only to the other side of the Atlantic.

At this moment the only nations in the world that have definite programs—be the merits of those programs what they may—are Russia and Italy. All the rest sit sniveling amid the chaos, possessed of ample intelligence to meet their problems but apparently unable to apply it, save by hit-or-miss happy-go-lucky meddlings here and there.

Some of them are getting scared. France, which now dominates Europe as Germany never even hoped to do, as Napoleon himself never did, is discovering that military power and the possession of a hoard of gold somehow are inadequate to establish security. That is what brought Premier Laval to Washington. That is what motivates reluctant consent to the reconsideration of the means by which Germany can be kept enthralled. That is what accentuates the fright lest Japan and China may "spill the beans" of the world again at this crucial time.

WE used to live in log cabins, contrived out of the trunks of trees that we cut in clearing the forests primeval at the edges of civilization. Then we lived in little clusters of houses, of a sort. The best we could afford. Later we inhabited villages, and cities up to say twenty-five thousand. In those days "sturdy individualism" was a force and a reality. What happened out beyond the horizon concerned us relatively little. "Foreigners" singly or collectively might sink or swim according to their pleasure and fortune. We could read about it, or maybe never hear of it. Now we live in the world, and we can not ever be beyond the effects of anything that can happen in it.

We must learn to manage it. It is in the throes of that lesson that we are now agonizing. Meanwhile those of us who somehow amid the confusion contrive or by some of luck of circumstance have the fortune to find butter on our bread, must do what we can to ease over the less fortunate until the happy-go-lucky tide of no-management-at-all sets in again. We'd better do so anyway, lest the goblins get us! It is a fine that we must pay, a very proper one, fitting the crime of living in the kind of world that we have thus far tolerated.

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Letters & Life

In which books, plays, and people are discussed

Edited by LEON WHIPPLE

Good Hope

TAMING OUR MACHINES, *by Ralph E. Flanders. Richard R. Smith. 244 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

The seven satisfactions in life are:

Satisfaction of the senses
Functional satisfactions
Enlargement of personality
Objective achievement
Social integration
Esthetic experience
Cosmic integration.

DO you agree with Ralph Flanders, engineer, that these are measures of the Good Life? Then let us demand of our machine civilization that it provide such personal satisfactions. That is the axiom one of any plan: What are we planning for? By these criteria we can judge our present system to outlaw its evils and salvage its goods. Then we can choose a council, freed of tradition and fear, to seek with single-minded passion, the ways of taming our machines for the service of humans.

By rooting himself in this profound logic and by enfranchising his imagination to escape all short views and timid bargains with the practical, this humanist engineer has outlined the grand charter for an economic plan. The book is distinguished for three things: the courage with which he defines the good life, "despite all warnings from reason and experience and applying such resources of humility and effrontery as may prove useful"; the synthesis of data and elements from which we must start; and the bold faith with which he confronts and defies his own belief that unless we solve our economic dilemma in terms of personal satisfactions, we are racing toward the débacle foretold by the Spenglerian pessimism . . . sterile chaos!

The joy of this book is its bold acceptance of hypothesis—and I for one am ready for hypotheses! Science works that way: why not social science? No utopianism can be madder than the present incredible paradox of poverty amidst plenty. No plan can get us into a blinder alley than has laissez-faire. The pseudo-leaders in goverment and economics can no longer high-hat us: they lead nowhere and their high hats are in pawn. The products of laissez-faire at the moment are twofold: First, the new democracy of leisure due to unemployment whereby large masses are enjoying leisure—at a price. We are going through the motions of living in a surplus economy, and many lessons will be learned from that odd event. Second, the tempo, complexity, and neurosis to which part of our woe is justly attributed are being partly cured by natural tiredness. Lots of folks want to quit keeping up with the Joneses (creations of the higher salesmanship and the staccato producer-consumer rhythms) and flop down somewhere and rest their feet. These valuable by-products of the depression, leisure and the simple life, must surprise our alleged leaders. Yet these blessings are not universal; too many employed are carrying unemployed on their shoulders and sorrow in their hearts.

So whether from hope or despair, we are willing to consider the author's hypotheses:

There is no Machine Age, only machines and people, and the people can master the machines.

The age is unique because we have learned to adapt to Nature and enjoy almost complete control of her material bounties. We can have as much power and goods as we need.

We can postulate certain satisfactions we all want from life and seek an economic system that will provide the material bases for such satisfactions.

We have goodwill enough for the search but are stopped by inertia and plain ignorance.

We need a council that will get the facts and plan an economy to secure the desired satisfactions and this council must be above politics, nationalism, and that mere cyclic busy-ness that fulfils neither wants nor satisfactions.

We can find enough will and intelligence in our civilization to want the plan, man the council, and carry out the proposals one modest step at a time.

The substrata of economic thought are illumined with a rich and humane wisdom that I urge you to discover for yourself. The survey of the meanings of the Industrial Revolution, gains and sacrificed human values, and the digest of present criticisms of our state, are not new, but the elements have admirable emphasis. Almost every section offers the principles of an aspect and the aspect is fitted into its just place. The distraught mind gains a kind of peace from such unity and order, murmuring: "Yes, I perceive where *that* belongs. The Russian experiment *is* a kind of ascetic discipline because it denies temporarily the prime satisfaction of the senses (1) and puts a lop-sided value on social integration (5) denying the need for cosmic integration (7) and misusing esthetic experience for social propaganda (6)."

ONE can follow such ideas. The tariff becomes a possible tool to secure economic self-sufficiency within the bounds of a nation by limiting trade and so releasing us from foreign entanglements. The internationalist may reject such isolation but he cannot deny its possibility; if you export your machines and techniques, presently you will not be able to export your goods for the other fellow will make his own. The author so traverses many fields, including that of the artist who is called rootless in his own age, preferring flight to the task of incarnating new values through his art. This riveter on a vast structure throws off an orange glow and stream of sparks as he works. Did, for example, America reach its high level of values in rural New England in the first half of the nineteenth century?

But logic and challenging ideas are not enough. The good engineer wins or loses as his plan sets forth the end sought and provides energy enough to realize the design. In short, are these the satisfactions we ask of an economy? And has human nature will enough to want a plan and use a plan? Well, an economy that will provide for those seven satisfactions will content most of us and leave room for the private adventures of the soul. We can agree that the good life does not consist in the acquisition of things or power, nor in mere good motives without discerned good ends, nor in surrender to appetites or instincts. The religious may want more authority than the simple human experience Ralph Flanders ap-

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peals to, but surely the essence of religion is in the satisfaction of social integration (brotherhood) and cosmic integration (unity). Here he makes the fine point that our new knowledge offers a constantly larger field for cosmic experience that the closed determinism of Victorian science denied us. Einstein is the great mystic.

The test of a satisfaction is that it is more durable and affects beneficently more elements of personality than does a pleasure. It holds threefold value—of anticipation, of realization, and of recollection. It tends to give unity to personal experience instead of disrupting experience. They are listed here in what human wisdom believes to be an ascending scale from sense joy to cosmic peace. One satisfaction does not exclude others, and from one experience we may draw several satisfactions. The aim of the good life is to preserve all the values in all experiences. They are held to be authentic for they are drawn partly from the common records of great literature. Poetry and fiction bear testimony to what great minds believe are human values, not as moralists but as recorders. Here the author defines what the Humanists so awkwardly ask of literature.

Let us accept the hypothesis that we do want these satisfactions; what hope is there of getting a plan for them? Whence the human energy? Chapters on Machinery and Moral Problems and A Program of Human Values consider motives. They include the living faith of the engineer in the novel role of artist and creator. He will not give up the fight not only to prevail over nature but to serve man. We have an increasing stock of good will based on our community of interests: we all know we lead a dual life as consumer and producer. The best brains will be enlisted in the plan because of its importance and magnitude. Finally, we must do something to insure social stability for we live in daily risk of an age of mob hysteria and political brigandage that may well wreck our whole civilization. Yet against this we have a new kindliness and a new humility, the one as revealed in social philanthropy and the other in an open-minded science.

Yet these are but frail tools as the author recognizes when without sentimentality he poses the final question: What certainty is there that we are not already descending the fatal curve of Spengler from the flowering and glory of a *culture* to the sterile confused self-consciousness of a *civilization?* We may be doomed as were the other great societies by wanning energies and selfquestions . . . unless we can find differences in our situation. Here we have two hopes: we are the first society that ever knew human history. Our self-consciousness has become race-consciousness and we may learn how to save ourselves. Second, we have mastered Nature as no other human age even dreamed of doing. We are not driven cattle before plague and famine. *We have power!* "Why evade or deny the project? Why be doubtful of the outcome?"

LEON WHIPPLE

Seeding Down America

THE BROWN DECADES, a Study of the Arts in America, 1865-1895, *by Lewis Mumford. Harcourt Brace.* 266 *pp. Price* $3.00 *postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

MR. MUMFORD justifies the title of his book by his conviction that with the ending of the Civil War "autumn had come." With the almost universal use of brownstone for buildings and the vogue of walnut furniture, our cities actually looked different. The period was characterized by the note of mourning over the death of Lincoln. (But is brown the color of mourning or of funeral drapings?) Mr. Mumford also reminds us that Thomas Eakins, George Fuller and Arthur P. Ryder all painted in a brown palette. This does not seem like solid ground on which to base a characterization of a thirty-year period in American life.

But was this age pervaded by gloom? Then as now, sensitive, shrinking souls were sure the country was going to the dogs and fled to Europe to escape the budding industrial age. Yet it seems improbable that the rank and file shared the gloom of the intelligentsia. This period saw the young American giant girding up his loins for the most stupendous collective effort of history. Our ancestors were probably no less optimistic about the outcome than our own generation before the crash.

Mr. Mumford's thesis is that the Brown Decades contain the source of some of the most important elements in our present culture, and that in architecture, engineering, landscape designing and painting, the period was comparable to the "Golden Day" in literature. In his introductory chapter he attempts to portray the forces that were at work in the arts with fruitful results for our own generation. In literature, the work of those the age praised cannot entirely obscure the greatness of a few like Emily Dickinson, Walt Whitman, Stanley Hall and William James, better appreciated by our own age. Moreover the Brown Decades produced a new American scholarship, following the reorganization of the American university under President Eliot of Harvard. This advance in science put solid ground under the arts.

Mr. Mumford's case for painting during the Brown Decades rests on the work of the artists mentioned, with Homer and Mary Cassatt. While recognizing, as one must, the genius of Arthur P. Ryder it is difficult for me to feel much enthusiasm for the American painting of today that Mr. Mumford believes drew inspiration from the Brown Decades. The American section of the International Exhibition at Pittsburgh contains evidence that American artists are more and more seeing the possibilities of expressing the spirit of our time, yet ours is an increasingly collectivistic age in which painting finds hard going.

IN the chapter on The Renewal of the Lanscape and Towards Modern Architecture one senses Mr. Mumford's greater authority. From Thoreau, the American learned his natural relation to the land; from George Perkins Marsh, the right use of the public domain. The first of the city planners, Frederic Law Olmstead, in his design of Central Park, New York, as early as 1880 gave a practical demonstration to the principles advocated by Thoreau and Marsh. As Mr. Mumford reminds us however, there is not a large city in the country that has caught up with Olmstead.

We are indebted to Mr. Mumford for again calling our attention to the esthetic significance of the first Brooklyn Bridge, built in 1883. In it the Roeblings, father and son, stunningly demonstrated the possibilities of steel. No one will disagree with Mr. Mumford's statement that it was the first product of the age of coal and iron to achieve completeness of artistic expression.

In Henry H. Richardson, John Welborn Root and Louis Sullivan, Mr. Mumford sees the founders of modern American architecture. They carried stone as far as it could go and prepared the transition from masonry to skeleton-steel construction. Mr. Mumford tells us that Sullivan saw in the decadent structures of the eighties a reflection of the unhappy and irrational qualities in the hearts of his countrymen. He saw the skyscraper as essentially anti-social in its attempt to wring the maximum monetary yield out of a city lot while increasing the congestion at its base and complicating existence for those who should have been the beneficiaries of the architect's vision. We need to keep clearly in mind that in our Empire State, Chrysler and other "stunt" buildings, no new problem has been solved. Dirigible mooring-masts and needle-like spires contribute nothing to making city life decent and creative.

Mr. Mumford sees and emphasizes the problem that still challenges the architect. Working in cooperation with town planner, engineer, sculptor and mural painter, he must work out the most effective relation of the individual dwelling to

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the community in which its functions. Fortunately projects like Sunnyside, Radburn and the new Buhl Foundation venture in Pittsburgh give promise that the problem of making American architecture a truly social art is being courageously faced.

New York PIERCE WILLIAMS

Living Becomes Woman

ON UNDERSTANDING WOMEN, *by Mary R. Beard. Longmans, Green and Co. 541 pp. Price $3.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

I SUSPECT that most women (and probably men) are a little wearied by the flood of contemporary verbiage in which people—especially men—are busily trying to understand one half of the human race as though "woman" collectively were something rather unusual. Unfortunately Mrs. Beard's title suggests that her book is a part of that flood. Nothing is further from its actual plan. Instead of focussing the spy-glass on women as something special, she has turned the perspective the other way—on the career of the human race. Her thesis is sweeping: a review of civilization from the aborigines to the Soviets, showing the part that women have played as people and persons in a process in which they have an inescapable stake.

"Women have always been alive to everything that was going on in the world," she believes. "They always will be." And so, drawing on an immense store of erudition, she sketches what has been going on in thought and action and belief from the dim past to a confusing present and the vitality that women have drawn from and given to the common stream. "There is sure to be an over-emphasis in places," she warns the reader, "but my apology is that, when contentions have long been weighted too much on one side, it is necessary to bear down heavily on the other. . . . Man has composed most of the written history, giving to the normal accumulation of biases the bent of sex."

Swinging the scales the other way, Mrs. Beard shows us primitive women inventing the manufactures which now are the foundation of a "man's world"; women, like Elizabeth and Catherine and Isabella, moulding and controlling the politics of their times; women of the Renaiscence and later as professors, savantes, salonières; physicians, scientists; women in the guilds, controlling large business enterprises jointly with their husbands, their joint income the support of their children, servants and apprentices. When machine industry arose on the horizon, a joint union of men and women tried to check its threatened mastery of the cotton trade. "Defoe begins to note with astonishment that the servant had begun to desert the kitchen for the factory, compelling the business woman to bear the double burden of housework and craftsmanship or else to forsake the latter for the former."

On the Industrial Revolution itself and its sequel Mrs. Beard touches only in passing, believing it sufficiently rehearsed. Her concern is rather for the long view: the origin of our physical comforts, the rise of intellectualism from Egypt and Greece and Rome; the "dawning acquisitive pomp and power" that was to grow into the modern state; secular organization and learning growing out of feudal chaos to modern democracy and science—and in all these women feeling, thinking and doing. Her book draws its pattern from a bewildering wealth of history, philosophy, anthropology, art, letters and science. It offers a synthesis which represents the gleaning of many libraries, the reflection of many years and research. One smiles a little to think of some of the readers who will buy it by title alone.

MARY ROSS

Dusk of Reparations

THE END OF REPARATIONS, *by Hjalmar Schacht; translated by Lewis Gannett. Jonathan Cape & Harrison Smith. 248 pp. Price $3.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

IN this interesting and exceptionally well translated book, the former President of the German Reichsbank explains and defends, not in the least apologizing for, his course throughout the so-called "negotiations" for the definitive solution and stabilization of the problem of German reparations. I feel it to be substantially the truth, convincing, and objective beyond what might have been expected in view of Dr. Schacht's personal grief and shame at the condition into which his country has been plunged, by the fear and greed of its conquerors and the follies of its own government. He minces no words in exposing and denouncing those follies. Repeatedly he quotes his own letters of protest to his government at various stages in the progress of that insanity. It might be hard to say where he places the chief responsibility; upon the Allies and creditors who have had Germany by the throat, or upon the so-called socialistic government which bungled and evaded and played politics with the nation's life at stake. Outstanding is the fact, not only that practically all of the German reparation payments from the beginning have been made out of borrowings abroad and at home, merely postponing the fatal day—"bridges that did not bridge—one end in the air"—but that those borrowings, ostensibly for the purpose of restoring German capital and industry, were to an enormous extent diverted into unproductive extravagances of public expenditures such as German thrift and prudence never would have committed out of Germany's own pocket. "In the last analysis," says Dr. Schacht, "it is not of decisive importance whether it was 40 billions or 40.4 billions that we would be unable to pay."

Referring especially to the unsocialistic and unscientific "socialism" which thus blundered and wasted, but as well to the whole existing structure of reparations, under the Dawes Plan, the Young Plan, as blindly viewed by the creditor-governments, Dr. Schacht says:

> This system has at last and certainly come to an end. The screw [of loans and excessive taxation] can be turned no further; it is no longer effective. No more money can be borrowed. The world is quite properly beginning to ask for indications of how billions of reparations can be paid and at the same time the interest and amortization payments on such loans be worked out of the German economic system.

Dr. Schacht reiterates his familiar appeal against the amputation of the former colonies, source of the raw material indispensable for German industry; urges the development of "Pan-Europe" as a non-political agricultural and industrial unit; and opines that only such an economic cooperation can facilitate the execution of the Young Plan. An illuminating chapter is devoted to the tremendous changes in world-economics consequent upon the war. One hardly needs Dr. Schacht to stress the fact that much, indeed most, of the mischief has been done by politics and politicians; that even the competent financial experts of every country, including our own, who were supposed to be working out solutions, were hampered, secretly and openly, by political rather than economic considerations; that the times shriek for sane and honest adjustments at the hands of those equipped to find them, on the merits, from wisdom and experience. Perhaps world starvation, and the threat of choas inevitably behind it, will bring the world to its senses.

JOHN PALMER GAVIT

Liberty Is a Blessing

LIBERTY AND RESTRAINT, *by Louis Le Fevre. Knopf. 345 pp. Price $3.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

POSSIBLY you recall that a scolding by parent or teacher once actually upset your glandular system. If so, you will be pleased to learn that Louis Le Fevre contends that liberty, and freedom from restraint, are not only desirable but almost a biological necessity.

The first part of this volume deals with the value of Liberty. I was fascinated by the data compiled about the decline of primitive races. The Catholics in Mangareva and the Protestants in Hawaii made life unliveable to their converts. The thesis is that people die through restraint of their customs and mores, and that war is at times more of a life-giving agent than missionary zeal for conversion and change.

The Fijians shrank from 105,800 in 1891, to 84,475 in 1921. The Indians of California numbered in excess of 133,000, before the coming of the whites, and in 1907 the census showed only 18,797. The author points to the increased rate of tuberculosis coincident with rigid discipline among Indian children. Even in Haiti, where we brought good roads, new hospitals and freedom from revoluton, we also handed out a goodly dose

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of inferiority feeling—a force possibly so destructive to life that even modern sanitation will not offset its effects.

On the other side of the medallion we can read of free Athens and unrestrained Florence. The highest levels of culture seem to flow from a free people.

I read all these striking facts with interest but was never convinced of any single conclusion. Too many offsetting inquiries arose. The decline of so-called primitive people may have been proceeding irrespective of the coming of outside domination. What are the life-giving values that flow from resistance to restraint? Are there no distinctions between restraints imposed by an outside culture, and those arising within a race itself? And if so, what happens to the minority that resists changes arising within its own civilization?

The second portion of this erudite work discusses the attainments of Liberty, its relation to modern forms of government —dictatorship, aristocracy, democracy. But the material lacks organization. The discussion is neither by time, nor space, nor method of restraint. It left me nowhere at all. To be sure, I appreciate the difficulties of any analysis of this phase of the problem. Some years ago I worked on a book dealing with restraint of ideas through literature, the stage, the movies, and that volume also partially collapsed in its endeavor to tie up the underlying facts.

Mr. Le Fevre has written a provocative, illuminating volume. I wish that he had defined with more precision the various modes and instruments of restraint. There is scarcely a reference to censorship of the press, the movies, the radio, the stage. The modern market places of ideas are dominated by modern methods of wholesale distribution of thought. Where do Stalin, Mussolini, Hoover take their places in such a panorama? No discussion of contemporary attainments of liberty should omit an inquiry into controls of the wholesale spread of independent thought.

And finally, are not the censors useful at times as the symbols of revolt and resistance? From a biological viewpoint I would imagine that Mr. Le Fevre might even urge that the hurdles created by outside censors create inducements to higher leaps of the human race.

MORRIS ERNST

Humanity's Way

MAN'S OWN SHOW: CIVILIZATION, *by George A. Dorsey. Harpers. 977 pp. Price $5.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

THIS posthumous work is the *magnus opus* of a writer who won fame and wide audience by his readable book on Why We Behave Like Human Beings. On the day the present volume was finished Mr. Dorsey died, but the major part of his book should live long.

A prodigious amount of reading, travel, study and critical thinking; in fact, the labors of a lifetime of observation and effort to understand man and his achievement have been summarized here. Reading through these thousand pages one sees vividly unfolded an interesting drama of cultures emerging and civilization in the building.

The three parts of the book are: Man's Natural Endowment, How We Came by Our Civilization, and What Shall We Do to Be Saved. The thesis of Part One is, "Culture was a biologic necessity," or "man became civilized because he is that kind of an animal." How the author thinks this was accomplished is re-told in colorful fashion, but with tiresome facetiousness and flippancy, much as it was in his earlier book. Although a wealth of biologic, ethnologic, psychologic and sociologic knowledge is mustered its interpretation is at times more fanciful than sound. It is argued throughout that human nature is ape nature and that it is unchangeable. Here is controversial ground but Dorsey pushes his view to absurd limits. He conjures culture out of ape conduct and has the behavior patterns in their outworking distort "certain fundamental needs out of all semblance of human requirement" until we get wars, famines, diseases, anarchy and revolution. His derivation of the family from ape life by over-working discredited data is illustrative of the method that tends to vitiate some of this section.

Part Two, comprising more than half the volume, is the best. In it are traced the growth and perversion of civilization from antiquity to the present. Religion is the arch villain of the grand plot. A disease, "born of fear, it compensates through hate in the guise of authority, revelation." Man's well-being is due to science overcoming this superstition. Barring some overemphasis and ignoring of facts this part is essentially sound history so well put and so challenging as to merit wide reading.

Part Three is an anti-climax. Proposing deliverance from the bondage that man has inflicted upon himself by his futile cosmic superstitions and philosophies to sane humanistic life and endeavor by democratic education, it gets nowhere. The theory is sound enough, but, like the rest of us, the author is unable to show how to put it into practice.

Oberlin College NEWELL L. SIMS

Poetry That Is Lived

BASQUE PEOPLE, *by Dorothy Canfield. Harcourt Brace. 272 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

TRUST Dorothy Canfield to do something different, to pierce the romantic vapors that have gathered over the Basque country and to see deep into the minds and hearts of its proud reserved people. Dorothy Canfield knew the Basque country before it became fashionable. She lived there for a year during the war sharing the lives of its people. She returns there now as an adopted daughter. Gathered into the present volume are eight tales taken direct from the common life of the village, reflecting the experience of a people who, rejecting the complications of modernity, continue to mould and measure their lives by human values. "Is there nothing a human race can learn out of a long experience of life save how to paint lines on crockery pots?" exclaims the school teacher charged by a visitor that her race has no great music, no great literature, "not even decent pottery." "Is there no poetry that is not written, but lived?"

The village school teacher, "fifty-five, rough, plain, lean, dark, unpowdered, unarranged," moves in and out of the tales. Through her wise old eyes we see Noemi, the placed-out child, and the long train of human relationships that she involved—a case story if there ever was one—through her simplicities we probe the mind of Tomasina, "the Saint of the Old Seminary," another case story if you please, herewith recommended to our psychiatric social work technicians. Not all Basques are nature's noblemen, but their obliquities, as Miss Canfield clearly shows us, express the same uncomplicated human attitudes that are the springs of their virtues.

No ordinary traveler can hope to penetrate into the inner spirit of a people as Miss Canfield has, but through her tales, as simple as the people she writes about, he may share for a little in their deep spiritual repose.

GERTRUDE SPRINGER

Le Roi Est Mort

KING OF FASHION, *by Paul Poiret, translated by Stephen Haden Guest. J. B. Lippincott. Price $3.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

THIS highly entertaining volume of memoirs tells us as much about Poiret's constituency as it does about the King himself. Only a society rushing from whim to whim, always anxious for some new sensation, could have supported this capricious genius.

From the days when he played with scraps from his father's dress-goods shop, through his apprenticeship with Doucet and Worth to his own ventures in the exploitation of fashion, Poiret's story has flavor and piquancy. Let us not forget that he was a great designer in those mad years before the war when the Paris dressmaking trade exercised a dictatorship that seemed inevitable and eternal. The Paris of today, full of ideas but not so capricious or charming as the old, is said to be organizing itself for quantity production.

One of Poiret's best anecdotes is about an American audience. He had devoted his lecture to assuring three thousand young ladies that a truly well dressed woman pays no attention to the "color of the season"; she chooses and sticks to the colors most suitable to herself personally. Then he called for questions. The first was: "Please tell us, M. Poiret, what colors will be favored next fall."

To Poiret we owe the impulse toward Oriental lines and other inspirations drawn from exotic and ancient sources that

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animate a good deal of dress-designing today; to him, too, the vogue for bright color. But the same man was responsible for the minaret skirt and the hobble, vagaries such as Paris would not attempt to impose today.

One wonders why, when functionalism has become the *mot d'ordre* in architecture, dressmaking has not shown a similar influence. As a matter of fact it has, though none would suspect it from this book. An instance is the collection which has been shown quietly here and there by Madame Geo of Paris during her years in New York. This designer, who has counted among her patrons Queen Marie and—much more significantly for this discussion—Georgia O'Keeffe, makes dresses which are interesting to architects, sculptors, and engineers for their clean structural lines dictated by the contours of the body. Presumably Madame Geo knows dressmaking at first hand as something more than a picture in the mind's eye. A volume of descriptions of her basic models would not make light reading like Poiret's book, but it would constitute a more valuable and permanent gift of the French *couture* to Americans.

DOROTHY TEALL
New York City

Ukrainian in Canada

THE UKRAINIAN CANADIANS, *by Charles H. Young. Thos Nelson & Sons, Toronto. 327 pp. Illustrated. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

THIS excellent study has been produced under the direction of the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene. Helen R. Y. Reid, the well known chairman of its Division on Immigration, in a foreword, draws attention to the "costly disaster" of preventable mental disease which provides more patients for the mental hospitals of the Dominion than are to be found in its general hospitals. Not only the maladjustment of minority groups but also the inflexible social attitudes of the "old" inhabitants and the resulting conflicts contribute their quota to his lamentable state of affairs.

The author provides a well documented explanation for the problems encountered in the assimilation of this important Slavic element in the Canadian population. In many respects, the Ukrainians' experiences are similar to those of other groups that have come in large numbers to the North American continent: they have been propelled and attracted by the same forces, met with the same misfortunes to which ignorant foreigners are always prey, and suffered the same misunderstandings. Like other immigrant groups, they have transplanted to their new homes not only a rich cultural heritage and splendid habits of industry and thrift, but also old racial and religious animosities. However, they encountered troubles not shared to the same extent by other groups. Colonized, for the most part, in isolated communities in Western Canada, the Ukrainians had difficulty in understanding a government that did not enforce all its laws, while, on the other hand, it frowned on common laws and traditions which in the old country had been sanctioned alike by the Russian and the Austrian courts.

The discussion of the problems described is, throughout, sane and practical. Incidentally the author makes an excellent case for the employment, among newly immigrant groups, of teachers of their own nationality.

BRUNO LASKER
The Inquiry

BOOKSHELF

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THE NEGRO AUTHOR, *by Vernon Loggins. Columbia University Press. 480 pp. Price $5.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

THIS is a scholarly survey by historical periods of "the Negro's consciously produced literature" from the beginnings in the late eighteenth century with Phillis Wheatley to the year 1900—when for many less informed, Negro literature of any vital significance really first begins. As a critical background study such a review is most serviceable, especially for those who are interested in the social forces and historical issues as reflected in the mind of the literate and intelligent class of Negroes, who, as the record shows, were reasonably active and effective all during the period of anti-Slavery controversy, the Civil War, the Reconstruction, and the difficult

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problem period of the nineties. Mr. Loggins has carefully and critically documented this hitherto neglected field in the history of American literature, and has rendered a special service to the rapidly growing movement for careful, scientific study of the Negro's cultural development. An excellent classified bibliography adds much to the value of the book; the compilation of which was made possible by the facilities of the unique Schomburg Collection of books by and relating to the Negro, which is housed in the 135th Street branch of the New York Public Library.

AMERICA THE MENACE, *by Georges Duhamel, translated by Charles Miner Thompson. Houghton Mifflin. 217 pp. Price $2.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

THE Americans who resent a neighbor's criticism of son Jimmy, even if the criticism expresses their own repeated exhortations, will become indignant at this Frenchman's observations about America—chiefly because he is a Frenchman. There are few thinking citizens who have not voiced the plaints voiced here. The way out they have not found—nor has M. Duhamel. In justice to him however, it must be pointed out that he has attempted no such heroic task. He wishes only to stir his countrymen to a realization of the pit awaiting them if they follow in America's mechanized footsteps.

PLAIN ANNE ELLIS, *by Anne Ellis. Houghton Mifflin. 265 pp. Price $3.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

THERE is less color and glamor in this book than in the Life of an Ordinary Woman, which the extraordinary Anne Ellis wrote two years ago. Then Mrs. Ellis told of her childhood and young womanhood in the "wild" days of the Colorado mining camps, a more dramatic scene. But here is plenty of adventure—cooking for telephone construction camps high in the Rockies; campaigning with doughnuts; dressmaking for the *grandes dames* of a mining town, and, in another key, the long, courageous battle with failing health and inadequate resources. It is a chronicle of vivid places and people and situations, a book to renew one's faith in "the backbone of America."

THE CABIN IN THE COTTON, *by Harry Harrison Kroll. Decorations by the author. Long & Smith. 289 pp. Price $2.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

HARRY HARRISON KROLL shows the hardships of the tenant-farmers of the cotton-growing states. The book is written in sweat and ordure. The hopeless poverty and economic slavery of the workers is shown no jot or tittle abated. The methods by which Wilson Lord pro-rates his losses among his tenants, adds service charges and other charges and makes them virtually his serfs is shown in the story of Dan Morgan, poor white, educated by Lord, and lifted from the ignorance of the group into which he was born. The realism is at its best in the conversation in the cabins. The love story is the less successful. It is not till one views it as a whole that Kroll's stirring plea, his demand for economic justice, gains the force of a mountain avalanche. The illustrations by the author are singularly pathetic and compelling.

WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND. *Horace Liveright. 366 pp. Price $3.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

TRADING on the well known human yen for the low-down, the anonymous author—or probably authors—here offer a fine dish of gossip. All the titterings of the kitchens of Washington, all the whisperings of its tea tables for ten years, are given to a waiting world. Every foible of the great, the near-great and the trying-to-be-great is dragged out and dissected, sometimes with a degree of penetration, sometimes with an obvious desire to show just how smart a smart-aleck can be.

The book is said to be the work of a group of press correspondents fed up with the starched front of officialdom. It pays off many old scores and sets up a lot of new ones. The wholesale destruction of sacred cows is amusing for the first hundred or maybe two hundred pages. Reading to the bitter end one learns that Congressman LaGuardia likes to cook and play the trombone, that Senator Morrow hates to shave and that Editor David Lawrence has two glittering cars and a yacht. The last hundred pages are the hardest.

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GANDHI AT THE ROUND TABLE

(*Continued from page* 263)

would have been terrific. He would have made a dramatic challenge to the British system which must have stimulated the imagination of the world.

There has been no such stage in 1931. Mr. Gandhi arrived in the midst of a grave and prolonged British crisis. His arrival, of course, was made much of. But the Press has now no space for India and the Mahatma has remained amid quiet surroundings, content to talk with and to influence small gatherings, mostly of convinced pacifists and people sympathetic with his mystical philosophy, his religious ideas, and ascetic practice. This is thoroughly in character, and of course there was no escaping the lunch at Lady Astor's. But such meetings are very remote from the great business of shaping the future of India.

To the hardboiled politicians and journalists, as we should expect, he appears as a visitant from another sphere. He has visited the House of Commons and addressed a gathering of members; and there, as in several other places, the ritual of his day has stirred the curiosity of his hearers—as, for instance, when at seven o'clock the lights are lowered for evening prayer and the Mahatma invites those present to join him and his Indian associates in the exercises. The weekly day of silence makes a more singular impression still. It does not interfere with Mr. Gandhi's attendance at the Round Table. He takes his usual place in the conference room and, since his vow applies only to vocal speech, he follows the proceedings and makes his suggestions or replies to his fellow delegates by means of written messages.

These are among the peculiarities of his character and way of life. The traits that have endeared him to everybody he has met are those that mark his everyday conduct and relationships: his unruffled manner, his courtesy, his kind smile and bright eyes, and perhaps above all his ready humor and spontaneous laugh. Never was there a revolutionary mystic, a dangerous devotee, who showed himself as a companion so unaffected and delightful.

Nevertheless there were dangers. For the past ten years Mr. Gandhi has been a world figure. If a conspectus of the news were possible we should be astonished to find how enormous has been the space filled (to the disgust of such a man as Winston Churchill) by this "seditious half-naked fakir." The advance publicity accorded to him in England by the popular press was, of course, mainly ridiculous. G. K. Chesterton complained that the newspapers, having found him a puzzle, decided to treat him as a joke. Instead of putting before the public the terribly serious issues of Indian freedom, they talked of Mr. Gandhi only in reference to two things, his meager white cotton garb, and his habit of including among his light luggage a spinning-wheel—which at least, Mr. Chesterton suggested, indicated a means of adding to his clothing if so be it was inadequate.

I MENTION this newspaper nonsense here for one particular reason. The Mahatma's Indian homespun has not made the smallest difficulty for him in London. In the sequel it has hardly been minor news. His *dhoti* (or kilterbockers, as a well known English scholar named the Hindu garment) is supplemented with a warm woollen shawl, and if necessary also a blanket-rug, and in these ample coverings he is seen by all visitors. The fall weather, as it happens, was sunny in an exceptional degree; and since Mr. Gandhi makes continual use of an automobile, he was not even bothered by the small problem of clothing in relation to locomotion. In short, he has been thoroughly at home and I think would have been quite content to winter in London if he had felt that more months given to debate upon a new Indian constitution would be time well spent.

There is, however, a more serious side to this business of publicity as it touches the Mahatma's position and his work in London. American readers know well—better indeed than any others—that the press has dealt with Mr. Gandhi as

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though he were the sole embodiment of Indian nationalism and thus the only man who counts at the Round Table. It is not at all difficult to understand how this has come about. The Mahatma has a news value that is unexampled. The large Indian delegation includes at least a dozen men of experience and high distinction. They are of representative standing. In England as in India their importance is recognized. Whenever constitutional issues or political settlements are under discussion they are more prominent than Mr. Gandhi is or could be, for they live and move in that sphere while the Mahatma has no place in it. But the outside world does not hear of these men. They are unknown to the great public, and in America it would hardly be worth while to mention their names, save in relation to such specific matters as the Moslem demands as set forth by the Aga Khan, or the claims of the depressed classes as eloquently championed by Dr. Ambedkar.

At the Round Table Mr. Gandhi is not comfortable. It is impossible that he should be. Mr. Gandhi expressed to me his strong feeling that the problem of communal antagonism ought not to have been allowed to interfere with or obscure the great urgent task of working out the basis for a free India. My reply was that many of us agreed with him; but it was certain that, because of the way affairs have gone since the end of the first London Conference, no authority and no group in London could have succeeded in putting the minorities problem aside and pushing forward the constitutional settlement. The Moslems have maintained a united front. They will not be denied. And as all the world knows the Mahatma is deeply involved in this communal problem. For the past twelve years the making of peace between Hindu and Moslem has been for him a burning reality. And with every failure he has felt the need for a solution to be all the more imperative.

HIS method of seeking that solution is always characteristic. In India, it should be noted, Mr. Gandhi has increasingly relied upon private consultation with the viceroy or with important members of the government. In India he has at every stage been able to mobilize the press and public opinion and to capitalize his vast popular influence. It is entirely natural that he should have hoped to continue this special method in London, through private talks with the prime minister, the secretary of state for India, and perhaps Lord Sankey who presides over the Federal Structure Committee. But London is not Bombay and the English official ways are totally unlike those of Delhi and Simla. It is impossible for any delegate, however powerful or unusual he may be, to hold private conversations with the head of the government or with a conference chairman. He is obliged to act strictly as a delegate, and the authorities, having to remember all the others, are compelled to follow the regular procedure.

There are manifest disadvantages for him in being the sole representative of his party. When the Indian National Congress decided to take part in the second Round Table it was deemed advisable to nominate a strong delegation of five members. Mr. Gandhi, coming fresh from his momentous talks with the viceroy, urged the then startling alternative that he should be the single plenipotentiary. His unexampled prestige carried the day, and after hesitations and changing moods which occupied several months, he made a last-minute decision to go and go alone. There are, it is true, other prominent Congress members with him in London (e. g., Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Pundit M. M. Malaviya), but Mr. Gandhi is the single accredited Congress representative, able—at all events in theory—to give his adhesion to propositions and settlements on behalf of the largest political organization in India.

In a position such as this, it seems to me, the strength of the Mahatma is much less than it would be if he were the leader of a representative group. And I will add that in the excessively difficult business of negotiating with the Moslems and balancing the claims of Sikhs, Anglo-Indians (Eurasians), Parsees, and other minorities—to say nothing of fifty millions of the depressed classes—Mr. Gandhi has been conscious of the perils of loneliness. His need, I think, has been for the steady aid of like-minded colleagues, accustomed, as he is not, to the discussion of concrete proposals (*Continued on page 276*)

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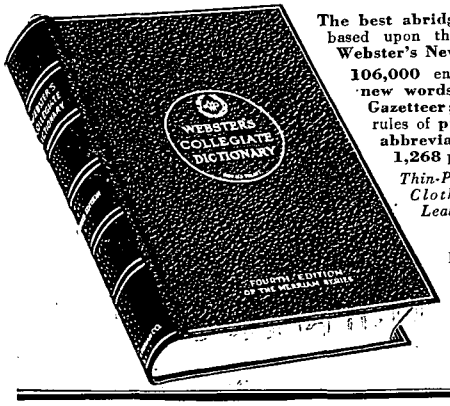

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and their application to practical matters; and he is hampered at times by doubts as to the limits of his power in India; that is, the extent to which he is able to commit the National Congress when it comes to concessions in the bitterly disputed communal territory.

Throughout the early part of this year Mr. Gandhi held to the view that he could not attend the Round Table unless a real basis of Hindu-Moslem agreement had been found. On the day following his admission that a whole week of private conversations with the Moslem leaders had been unavailing, I reminded Mr. Gandhi of his declaration and expressed the view that his stand at that time was wholly statesmanlike. His reply was an interesting personal confession. He said he was sure he had been right in taking that stand; he had not changed his own opinion, but he had allowed himself to be overborne by his friends.

I AM writing in late October, and the intention of the government is that the Round Table should be dissolved before the end of November. No members of the Conference known to me will say they are hopeful of a settlement of the minorities problem. Mr. Gandhi himself believes that arbitration in one form or another is necessary. The Moslems are opposed to arbitration. Many of their delegates want the British government to make its own decision and then impose the terms of settlement. Some of the Moslems are not unprepared to admit that they know their claims to be too high for any sound arbitrator to endorse. But, as I need hardly point out, the enforcement of communal peace by an alien government is certainly the least desirable way. Prime Minister MacDonald and Lord Sankey were quick to indicate that in this fundamental matter an outside authority cannot do the job. Mr. MacDonald said in effect: "Agree among yourselves, tell us upon what basis you are prepared to work a system of free responsible government, and India passes into Indian hands."

There is room in this article for a few words only on the second great snag, the claims of the depressed classes, the untouchables. At the Round Table last year they were heard from for the first time. Their voice is much more emphatic today. On their behalf Mr. Ambedkar is asking that they be given, like the Moslems, separate representation in the legislature. Mr. Gandhi is firmly against separation. His argument is that the depressed classes belong to the Hindu world, and he reminds them that it was through his championship, his determined advocacy, that their disinherited masses were roused to action and their terrible conditions made known to the outside world. The fact of untouchability and the existence of from forty to sixty millions living under its stigma, makes, as the Mahatma has again and again affirmed, an indelible stain upon Hinduism. His view is that separate representation for the depressed classes would have the effect of stamping them with a permanent mark of inferiority and subjection; their right place is with the National Congress.

This, it will be admitted, is a strong position; but there are two things in particular to be said on the other side. The first is that the vast majority of the depressed classes have always been outside the National Congress and must, for an indefinite time, remain outside. The second is, that in the world of today every section of the people, every community, has come to insist upon being represented by its own men. Dr. Ambedkar, chief delegate of the depressed classes, has probably been mistaken in his tactics. He has been admonished from India on that score. But his contention that no caste Hindu can represent the untouchables is surely unanswerable.

There is no need to stress the fact that the British political crisis and the general election are a disaster from the Indian point of view. Opinion in Indian circles has been that, since all parties are committed to the principle of a free India, there was no good reason why the Round Table should not keep straight on with its task and finish by the time the reformed National Government should face a new House of Commons. But all those who know what has been happening at the Conference are aware that the road is full of difficulties, apart from the disheartening effect upon the delegates of working in London when officials and

(*Continued on page* 279)

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Viajes a Mexico

THAT means trips to Mexico—two of them, which the Committee on Cultural Relations With Latin America (112 East 19 Street, New York) has scheduled for December. One is linked up with the four-hundredth anniversary of the Apparition of Our Lady of Guadalupe; and the other with the Christmas *posadas* and *fiestas*. The purpose of the trips is "to open the doors of Mexico so that some may see the beauty which lies behind the dress parade of the capital and the boulevards."

Christmas Abroad

DR. AND MRS. SVEN V. KNUDSEN (248 Boylston Street, Boston) are taking a group of boys on a twenty days' vacation in Europe. It sounds like an unusual opportunity—both as to cost and the chance to visit at private homes in Holland; for the boys will be entertained by English-speaking families in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and other towns. The trip also includes stops at Paris, London, Windsor, Oxford and the Shakespeare country.

Personals

AMERICAN social workers who met Dr. Ruth Weiland when she was here in '27 and '30 or at the International Conference in Paris in '28, will be interested to know that she has left her post at the German Red Cross and taken over the secretaryship of the Jehrag, or Reichsarbeitsgemeinschaft für Jugenderholungs- und Heilfürsorge; a semi-official organization which handles the problems of child-health work in Germany. Dr. Weiland will be especially active at the International Conference of Social Work next year in Frankfort in giving American social workers an insight into things German.

AND DR. GERTRUD FERBER, formerly secretary of the Vereinigung Carl Schurz, is now hostess on the Bremen. A Ph.D. in education from the University of Hamburg, she has a penchant for international relations in the most human sense of the word. For example, she was of immeasurable help to editors of The Survey when they were scouting for our New Germany Number and she routed a group of American students through Europe with such success that several years later when she came to take up work here, they turned out en masse to greet her. Too much praise cannot go to the North German Lloyd in creating such a post and in choosing Dr. Ferber to fill it, for it is bound to enhance the joy and value of traveling for their Bremen passengers.

Important

THE Disarmament Conference will be held in Geneva on February 2, 1932. The expressed interest of the rank and file of every country from now until then is the only thing that can make it the practical, down-to-brass-tacks occasion it should be. Have you let the White House know how you feel on the subject?

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(*Continued from page 276*) public alike were absorbed in the country's domestic affairs.

Last year the debates turned largely upon the making of an All-India Federation. There is not much probability of that project's being carried further at present. The Moslems look upon it as secondary to the establishment of their own position, and it is recognized that their princes and political leaders have their minds increasingly upon the building of a unified Moslem state in the Indian Northwest. The major Hindu princes, moreover, are not now favorable to federation as they were in 1930. The National Congress is not concerned with it, and Mr. Gandhi has never been interested in governmental schemes. They seem to him irrelevant to the basic issue, and he has more than once made plain his impatience with the protracted discussions in committee. Mr. Gandhi, again, has a deep conviction that the British governing classes are no less strongly opposed than of old to relinquishing their power in India. He will not believe that they can be induced to accept changes in the control of finance and the Army. This rooted belief—held, of course, not by the Mahatma alone—has a grave significance, and I cannot escape the fear that, coupled with the apparent insolubility of the Moslem and minorities problem, it may lead to a breakdown of the Conference.

Such an ending ought at all costs be avoided. The chances of peace between India and Britain hang upon this great effort in London; and, as Lord Sankey has put it, a failure now would make both sides the laughing-stock of the world. Failure indeed could be nothing but an immeasurable calamity; and very many of us, knowing something of India, would insist that from the outset all thought of it should have been resolutely set aside. The Round Table provided a final opportunity for making peace and laying the foundation for a structure of genuine cooperation between a great Asiatic people and a European world power. The peace could be made, the partnership concluded, on honorable terms. And so long as the essential principle of Indian freedom were secured, how could there be a doubt concerning the value to the Orient of such a compact in view especially of the latest appalling developments in the Far East?

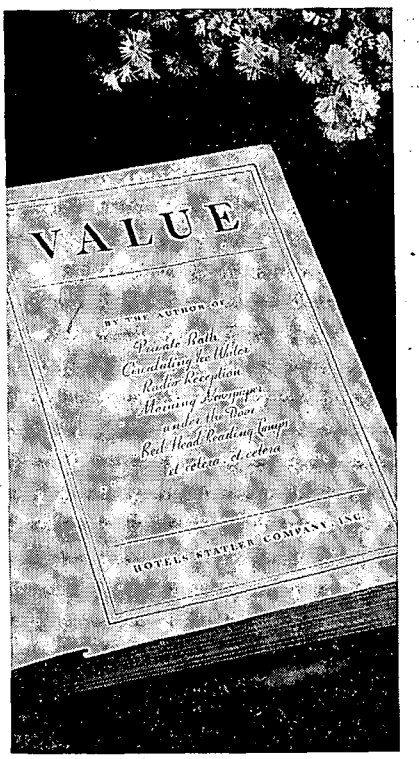
(*London, October 20.*)

THE foregoing article was written of necessity while the issues of the Round Table were still in doubt, and in the midst of the election campaign, when it was impossible to make even a meager forecast of the circumstances amid which the Conference would be brought to an end. I add, one week later, this note on probabilities.

Mr. Gandhi has continued to express his very strong opinion as to the waste of time in the two committees—federation and minorities. Many of the Indian delegates agreed with him in thinking that the government had neglected the first essential, namely, an early disclosure of the measure of "freedom in self-government" for which the leaders in England are prepared, together with a definite statement as to the safeguards deemed necessary in finance and control of the Army. The Indian argument has been that debates on the federal structure and the representation of minorities must be unreal so long as the government withholds a declaration of policy on Indian home rule. In answer to this, I think, Mr. MacDonald and Lord Sankey could reply, with no little weight, that the more advanced section of the government would have had its hands greatly strengthened if the deeper divisions on the Indian side had been removed.

It is recognized of course that the greatest of all difficulties is the Army and defense. The military authorities hold that the British Army in India cannot be reduced in size and can take orders only from British commanders. This implies an insuperable obstacle until the great question of Indian responsibility at the center has been finally decided.

If, as seems probable, the Round Table should be adjourned *sine die,* it will be on the understanding, or in the hope, that the more moderate leaders and parties will be able to continue in India the efforts towards settlement, and thus, at least, to hammer out a solution of those hard practical problems which must first be got rid of among Indians themselves. No one, I am sure, is disposed to minimize the dangers of a failure to make peace in London.—S. K. R.



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work a torture to do at all. It has made it impossible for me to enjoy the simple pleasures of life. I have run from wife to wife, from house to house, and from country to country, in a ridiculous effort to escape from myself.

Even without knowing all the facts in this case, it seems safe to suggest that this gifted man would have fared better with less psychopathological information and more real psychiatric treatment.

Specific individual problems in mental hygiene cannot be handled properly through general publicity, such as newspaper or magazine columns, no matter how well qualified the editor of the column may be. Competent psychiatrists know that the mental difficulties of individuals are too intricate, too delicate, too much beneath the surface to be successfully resolved by any such long-range methods. The symptoms, which the correspondent describes in his letter to the editor of the column, are apt not to represent the underlying facts, and even if they do, how can any psychiatrist be sure he is giving the right advice without checking up first-hand? Effective treatment of specific personal difficulties in mental hygiene requires a direct, face-to-face relationship between physician and patient.

If some of our efforts at public education in mental hygiene have been misinterpreted and have led some people to put a wrong or undue emphasis upon things psychiatric, that fact is no reason for calling a halt to further work. It is the more reason for doing a more careful and thorough educational job in the direction of counteracting any wrong impression that may have been created, and of giving people a more sane and sensible point of view. Plenty of good publicity ammunition might well be used in warning the public away from all the illegitimate exploiters of things psychiatric. At the same time, the public might advantageously be informed as to what training and qualifications are implied in the terms psychiatrist, psychologist, and psychiatric social worker; otherwise, how expect them to discriminate?

Real mental hygiene has not been oversold. Mental hygiene means not mental disease, but mental health. Primarily it is concerned with the normal, not the abnormal. It is, or should be, positive not negative in its approach.

In positive education toward healthy normal living lies the greatest field for mental-hygiene publicity, and that field is unlimited. The time and place are here and now. Let us leave psychopathology and all that needs to be done about it to the research specialist and to the clinician and private practitioner in their personal and confidential relationships with patients.

In contrast with the intricacies—one might almost say mysteries—of mental pathology, the positive aspects of mental hygiene are relatively simple, understandable, general principles of living, to be usefully applied in the lives of all people. In its broadest sense mental hygiene is the development of the kind of personality which makes it possible for a person to get along happily and effectively in his work, play, and family life.

In this sense mental hygiene is more than curative, it is more than preventive. It is a constructive socializing force. Its great mission is to become a useful part of all those forces in society which, from birth on, aid in the process of changing us over from savages to civilized human beings—the home, school, church, government, organized social work, industry and the like.

Here is the rebuttal, it seems to me, of the statement that mental hygiene is being oversold while we do not have enough experts to go around. A great deal that mental hygiene has to offer people in positive, educational ways does not call for clinics or lengthy sessions with the psychoanalyst. Leaders in the mental-hygiene field recognize that even twenty-five or thirty years from now, the number of trained specialists will be extremely limited compared with the broad scope of mental hygiene. If the principles of mental hygiene are to be applied on a scale to influence the mental habits of people generally, these principles will have to be applied for the most part by everyday people in everyday life, and especially by those who are counselors and preceptors for others, beginning with parents and teachers, and including physicians, social workers, ministers and many others. It is not expected that these people will ever be familiar with the intricacies of psychiatry; but it is expected that they will become so imbued with the significant fundamentals of mental health as to reflect and transmit those principles in their dealing with others.

Unlike the highly individualized study by the psychiatrist which definite problems of personal maladjustment require, the positive educational principles of mental hygiene can be adapted to groups of people. The principles of child guidance, for example, underlie all life experience. A classic example of the sort of simple and understandable suggestions for mental health of which I am speaking is Dr. Douglas Thom's leaflet, Habit Training for Children. It contains the kind of practical, useable advice which is applicable to parent-child relationships generally.

Application of this kind of mental hygiene is not dependent upon experts or clinical facilities. Its concrete suggestions should be a helpful guide to any open-minded parent in meeting the important issues that constantly arise in the rearing of the most normal child. More than three hundred thousand copies of this pamphlet have been distributed, most of them purchased, not given away. It has also had an extensive circulation in foreign countries in translation. In addition, Dr. Thom's suggestions for habit-training have been distributed widely in other forms, notably in the bulletin issued by the federal Children's Bureau, and in his books. The widespread demand for this kind of advice shows that there are ample opportunities for the right kind of education in mental hygiene.

The whole movement of parental education and child study has had a remarkable development in the last few years. The organized national groups in the field of parental education, such as the National Council of Parent Education, the Child Study Association of America, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, and the American Association of University Women, together with local groups, have naturally been able to carry out a much more extensive educational program with parents than could have been accomplished by the unaided efforts of organized national and state mental-hygiene societies. Much of the stimulus to parental education, however, and much of the material which has been adapted for its use, has come from the organized mental hygiene movement. While there has been in this sense a close kinship between the two movements, parental education groups have had less direct help from clinical experts in mental hygiene than they themselves have desired. If parental education is to continue in the right direction, it is important that it should have the active leadership of persons professionally trained in psychiatry, psychology and psychiatric social work.

IN parental education also a note of warning is in order. It is carrying a good idea a bit too far to convince a mother so thoroughly of the great importance of habit-training that every time her youngster sticks his fingers in his mouth or refuses his food, she thinks it vitally necessary to get him at once to a habit clinic or a habit-training specialist. I fear that some of the educational work in mental hygiene and parental guidance is apt unintentionally to have this effect. At times we have gone so far in impressing parents, especially mothers, with their terrific responsibilities and the tremendous significance of everything that happens in the first six years of the child's life that we are in danger of creating more mental and nervous problems among parents than we have succeeded in preventing among children. In our anxiety to get our message across we may overlook the psychology of the mother herself.

In like manner there is a distinct place for the application of education in mental hygiene to religion, social work, industry and so on. Some steps have already been taken in relating mental hygiene to each of these fields.

Up to the present time much of the most successful educational work in mental hygiene has been directed toward particular groups, such as parents, teachers, social workers and the like, rather than toward the rather vague general public. When we consider the educational methods which have proved most successful, an interesting fact appears. As a rule suggestions do not relate immediately or obviously to the mental health of the people toward whom they are directed. They concern rather the attitude of these persons toward others. Parental education in mental hygiene, for example, consists of advising parents as to the mental health of their children.

WHAT GROWN-UPS CRY FOR
(*Continued from page 254*)

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Educational work with teachers is intended to help the teachers in dealing with the personalities of the children coming under them. Educational materials for industrial leaders concern the mental health of their employes, for ministers their parishioners, for social workers their clients.

Actually, of course, a successful application of the principles of mental health to others involves a right mental attitude on one's own part, but the point is that the self-application is indirect and unconscious. Probably direct and obvious advice to a person about his own mental health is not the most successful approach because it is difficult for anyone unaided by experts either to see the need of changing his own mental habits or attitudes, or, even if he see it, to do so deliberately and consciously. But because mental hygiene involves the interplay of personalities, one cannot really help the mental health of the other fellow without at the same time helping his own.

I daresay that we shall never be able to measure in cold statistics the most significant results of education in mental hygiene. This education is only secondarily for the purpose of preventing mental breakdowns, which it may be possible to measure. It is primarily to promote the good life, to increase the personal efficiency and happiness of each one of us through more harmonious social relationships. Such things are beyond measure. The best mental hygiene will bear no label.

In other fields of health efforts are being made to lengthen the span of life. But will those added years mean happiness or unhappiness? Are additional years of living a prize to be sought if they are to be years of disgruntlement or despair? While other forces of public health are working to increase the quantity of life, it is the task of mental hygiene to improve the quality of life.

THE STRATEGY OF RELIEF

(*Continued from page 242*)

mean the gradual lightening of the relief load. Here is a reason for a flexible plan, one that will expand or contract to fit the emergency it must help meet. The Rhode Island scheme, for instance, supplies a lump sum for supplementing local money, and then adds provisions that can be thrown in or held out as good relief strategy dictates.

The allocation of funds should be kept impersonal and nonpolitical, centered in the hands of a compact group, small enough to bring several viewpoints to bear on the situation. The activities of this group must rest on competent, first-hand reports of local situations and local resources—the sort of quick, informed tally on which the governor of Rhode Island is, at this writing, basing his decision for or against a special legislative session.

In reinforcing local money with state funds, three objectives must be kept clearly in mind: adequate steam behind the actual relief job; easing the pressure on the private agencies so that their programs of social service to the community may go forward; strengthening the public morale by the knowledge that behind the community are ranged the broader powers and resources of the state.

And what we have so far said applies to federal as to state cooperation in relief for the unemployed. The welfare agencies are shouldering the load the individual cannot carry. Behind the welfare agencies stands the community, behind the community the state. There is one more line of defense that can make our front secure, if the efforts of the local communities and the states prove insufficient, which I do not believe they will, the federal government should back up the states under a careful flexible plan, devised with the help of authorities on economics and public finance supervised by a small group, remote from any taint of political interest, and on the basis of definite knowledge of specific state and community situations. Such a program, if used to bolster exhausted states, would clearly strengthen, not weaken, individual and local effort. It would give fresh courage to the unemployed and to those concerned with the immediate problems of their relief.

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(*Continued on page 283*)

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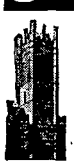

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(*Continued from page* 281) country continues a major crisis that requires the active participation of all public and private organizations for relief.

Responsibility for adequate local funds for relief is primarily a joint obligation of local public authorities and private agencies and the degree of responsibility of each of the two groups will vary in different localities and under different conditions. Administration of relief funds will require close cooperation of both groups.

State governments are the natural agencies for the development of state-wide plans and for the mobilization of sufficient resources within their jurisdiction.

In our scheme of government the states have an inescapable responsibility. The federal government should speed up public work so far as consistent with sound federal finance.

It is my belief that the states and local communities can handle the situation and thus avoid direct federal aid to the unemployed with all its consequences.

Present conditions are a challenge to the resources and the resourcefulness of America, to our ability to plan and organize, to forget petty differences and center on a great common emergency. I have no patience with those who see nothing but disaster ahead. This country is too rich in human and material resources to do other than go forward. We must deal adequately with the present situation. And when the emergency is relieved, we must not write "finis" to our task. Men, women and children must be relieved permanently of the fear and the burden of unemployment, and our economic life safeguarded from its greatest waste.

GERMAN STRESS

(*Continued from page* 262)

Germany is the center of the European continent, and a fruit, the heart of which has started to decay, will never ripen. Modern Europe will be drawn into much greater disturbances through a collapse of Germany than through the collapse of any other country on the continent.

Such a position and destiny may be interpreted either as an intolerable and unjust burden, against which feeling and shortsightedness rebel and revolt (as in the Hitler movement), or as a providential opportunity, a constructive undertaking, which can be mastered by vision and determination and courage, for the benefit of Germany, of Europe and of the world. That is the interpretation accepted by men like Erzberger, Rathenau, Ebert. They became martyrs—the first as an "international Catholic"; the second as an "international Jew"; the third as an "international Social-Democrat." And this is the interpretation that Hindenburg and Brüning and Braun have accepted. The first a national hero, the second a universal (*ökumenischer*) Catholic and the third an international Social-Democrat—all united in the understanding of international interdependence and the German mission and will to organize and synthesize national and international consciousness.

Now more than ever, thanks to the personality of Dr. Brüning, the majority of the German people follow this leadership, more and more conscious of the challenge of a German historian:

> Happy the generation upon which cruel necessity imposes a high idea, great and single, universally intelligible, drawing all other ideas into its orbit.

This new type of statesman is of the type of the Aristotelian philosopher-king, the Platonic philosopher-statesman; he is a product of Greek philosophy so deeply assimilated that the Catholic prelate who discovered and sponsored Brüning calls him "a synthesis between thinking and action such as one finds only among the statesmen of ancient Greece." I was profoundly impressed when one day I saw the death-mask of the Catholic philosopher Pascal by a complete resemblance between his physiognomy and Brüning's. I showed it to Brüning who, however surprised, had to acknowledge it. This type and this personality represent universal outlook, international responsibility, universal views based primarily upon philosophical conceptions, on religious faith, on personal consecration. The power resulting from this is sincerity, and strength and severity. We owe it to him that the Layton report of the Wiggin Committee could make the following statements:

As to the situation of German (*Continued on page* 285)

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(*Continued from page* 283) public finances, these have from time to time been the subject of irritation which found expression in the report of the Dawes Committee, and later in the reports and other communications of the agent-general for reparation payments. The only comment we ["we" meaning American, English, French, Italians, Swiss, Dutch experts and investigators] have to make on this subject is that the present government [Dr. Brüning's] has given proof of its determination in difficult circumstances to put Germany's public finances on a sound basis and that if this policy is rigorously pursued it will greatly contribute to the improvement of Germany's credit.

If you ask the ministers Stimson, MacDonald, Laval, Mussolini, you will be told that "from the first moment we felt the spell of Brüning's personality and are confident of his character and sincerity." This is the "secret of Chequers" which showed its effects in Paris, in London, and also in Washington (in the Hoover moratorium) and which finally prepared and enabled the agreement between M. Laval and Mr. Hoover. The Hoover moratorium is the first result of Brüning's international policies and the first blow at Hitler's nationalistic propaganda. Every development of this international cooperation will further antidote nationalistic slogans. This is essential if Brüning is to retain and strengthen the constitutional power against Hitlerism.

Brüning's majority in the Reichstag is not large but it does exist and is sufficient to insure constitutional, democratic government during the remaining three months of the present Reichstag. I am convinced that even if an unforeseen emergency should arise (I do not believe it will), Hindenburg would be ready to give to Brüning such power that he would remain the leader in all circumstances. The next year or two will be decisive.

The agreement between Hoover and Laval is a second development since the Hoover moratorium embodying the realization of the mutual interdependence idea. For the last fourteen years all steps in this direction have been given impetus by the United States. The entrance of the United States made the European war a World War and thereby initiated world history. The United States was responsible for the establishment of the League of Nations, though as yet it is only an honorary member without responsibility. The United States has contributed the Dawes Plan, Young Plan, Hoover Plan, the Kellogg Pact and the Wiggin Committee. Each European development during the past fourteen years has had an American name connected with it. The Hoover-Laval agreement signifies recognition and establishment of mutual interdependence with regard to reparations, war debts, disarmament and the first practical common movement toward a new settlement.

This prepared for a second movement on the part of Germany which must and will follow. She can refer to Thomas Jefferson with regard to war debts and reparations, demanding that no generation be allowed to pass on the burden of such payments to generations unborn. In other words, the new world history which began with the World War is being launched through an era of American understanding and leadership—whether America will or not. It would be better obviously if Americans were to understand the signs of the times, to become conscious of their responsibilities.

On the day of the termination of the Hoover-Laval conversations, Mr. Hoover went to the Cathedral in Washington and placed a wreath upon Woodrow Wilson's memorial. The decision regarding the outcome of the war through Wilson led to the developments which brought Laval to Washington and which now have to be decided upon by the United States with regard to reparations, war debts, disarmament, as a coordinated unity. Nationally and internationally the needs and tendencies of the United States and Germany are in such accord that all three American ambassadors to Berlin—Houghton, Schurman and Sackett—one after the other, have established as fact that never before in history have the United States and Germany been in so complete harmony in their political ideas and ideals as now. In other words, the "heart of Europe" and the "heart of the world" beat in the same rhythm. But the heart of Europe is bloodless and needs strength from the heart of the world for recovery of Europe and of the world. May it be as Carl Schurz prophesied:

> In this American nation, the totality of the amalgamation of all civilized nations, there is a titanic power which like a huge locomotive will lead humanity forward.

THE MOSAIC WHICH IS MANCHURIA

(*Continued from page* 259)

the land by a ditch over lands held by Chinese farmers being included. This right in fact was not included and a local Chinese, out of spite for not being included in the deal and sharing in the profits, stirred up the Chinese farmers against the Koreans who had run a ditch across their lands. Both groups being ignorant and guilty, suspicious of local police and courts, started to fight it out. Police and finally Japanese soldiers were called in. No lives were lost. But the machinery of modern propaganda was put to work to spread exaggeration. In Peking a day of mourning was declared for the masses of Chinese mowed down by Japanese bullets. In Korea, excited by the special editions on handbills spread in great numbers, mobs attacked Chinese and a general international disturbance occurred. Meanwhile helpless Chinese in Korea and yet more helpless Koreans scattered all over Manchuria, for months have paid the penalty of the racial hatred stirred up. It was in many of these isolated instances of oppression and injustice that the Japanese police have been called out, until later the instances take on an international character.

The main controversial issues boil down to this. China maintains that the treaty rights which Japan claims were obtained by force and therefore are not binding. She also maintains that Japan has far exceeded (*Continued on page* 287)

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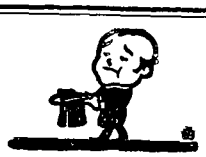

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(*Continued from page* 285) even these treaty rights in the present extension of her military or policing power. Japan claims that the Chinese government is quite unable to maintain order or to control her citizens or soldiers, so that the dividing line between soldier and bandit often becomes an undistinguishable one. Also that China cannot prevent or does not try to prevent her citizens from pursuing a policy of irritation or of petty annoyance which destroys the economic rights of the Japanese citizens or even makes their residence quite impossible. This policy of irritation occasionally results in the loss of life.

All of these claims are justifiable. The question for the rest of the world is, what are we going to do about it? Japan gives her answer, namely that the situation creates an international nuisance which demands policing. In consideration of Japan's treaty rights and her material interests she has undertaken this policing herself. The incidents causing the irritation and the actual outbreaks of force which resulted in military activities are not very important. If these instances had not arisen, there would have been others.

It is not necessary to take sides in this regrettable situation. What is essential is an attempt to improve it. Taking sides rules one out from making such an attempt. There are wrongs and rights on each side. The attempt should be to see that these wrongs are not increased by the development of a state of war.

UNCLE SAM'S FAMILY

(*Continued from page* 252)

tortion of our age groupings; fewer young and more older.

The separate figures for men and women are even more significant. Between 1900 and the present census the percentage of women 10 years of age and over, gainfully employed, has increased from 18.8 to 22.1, while similar percentages for men show a decrease from 80.0 to 76.2. Our women, then, are gaining in the ranks of industry and our men are losing. These figures are significant in that they show that men and women are coming increasingly into economic competition with each other.

In the field of agriculture there are more than 10 men to each woman gainfully employed. This is a man's field. Other men's occupations are forestry and fishing (835 to 1), mining (111 to 1), manufacturing and mechanical industries (5 to 1), transportation (9 to 1), trade (3.4 to 1), and public service (7.5 to 1). The surprising thing is not the predominance of men in these fields but the inroads that women have made: the marvel that any women at all are engaged in some of them. Here, now, are two fields in which women predominate: professional service (1.16 to 1) and domestic and personal service (2 to 1). One is not surprised at their predominance in the latter field; our only wonder is that it is not greater. It is in professional service that woman has made her most spectacular gain. In 1930, 16.4 per cent of women gainfully employed were thus engaged and but 4.4 per cent of the men. One can only wonder if women are scheduled to corner the professions, the easier and pleasanter tasks in manufacturing and mechanical industries, and the white-collar jobs in trade, transportation and public service, leaving to the men manual labor and occupations requiring strength and fortitude. Are the men destined to do the dirty-work?

It is interesting also to note the sex ratio of rural and urban populations in the light of these facts. In our cities, demanding a vast amount of woman's work, women predominate: only 98 men to 100 women. Our rural areas, on the other hand, with much of man's work, are masculine. They have 108.3 men to each 100 women.

UNFORTUNATELY the census materials do not as yet give us officially all of the information we desire as to what is happening to Uncle Sam's family. Much that we should know is not included in the schedule and will not be known.

We do know that the population is increasing, that we are still a heterogeneous mass, that the age composition is seriously disturbed, that the sex ratio is becoming equalized, that we are startlingly urban, and that women are gaining over men in gainful occupation.

We know, in a general way, that the average size of the individual family is decreasing, but that this decrease is offset by the fact that the number of individual families is on the increase. We find smaller families but more of them, which, within limits, is a very healthy and desirable condition. The birthrate is on the steady, to some "alarming", decline. So is the deathrate, but in this case no alarm is either expressed or felt. The net result is an increasing population, now largely without the aid of foreign importations.

In 1930 nearly two thirds (65.7 per cent) of the male population of the United States 15 years of age and over either were or had been married. Our women show an even greater proclivity to marry. In 1930 (*Continued on page* 288)

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(*Continued from page* 287) nearly three quarters (73.5 per cent) of those in the same age group were or had been married. In both cases the tendency is on the increase, the respective percentages standing approximately one point higher than they did ten years ago.

On the one hand we have fewer immigrants, more birth control, more divorce and smaller families. On the other hand we have earlier marriage, more families, fewer deaths and longer lives. The net result is a substantial increase in spite of the direst of statistical prophesies.

MY friend and his wife are thirty-five and thirty-four years of age respectively. They are native-born of native parents, white, exceedingly literate, married and still living together though they contemplate a divorce. They live in an apartment in the heart of Manhattan. They have one child who is well cared for in a boarding-school on the Hudson. Three grandparents are living, but not with them. My friend is a railway engineer and his wife is a judge. Perhaps this will be "about the census enumerator's picture of a family" ten years hence!

A FIVE-YEAR PLAN FOR THE WORLD

(*Continued from page* 235)

dition in the world market becomes more menacing and as the need for combining international export agreements with financial agreements for industrial purposes is more clearly realized. There is need here for patient negotiations and for economic statesmanship of the highest order.

4. In order to help in working out these large plans and to give them coordination, it is suggested that a non-political World Planning Board be established either as a part of the machinery of the League of Nations or as an independent body of experts to study world resources and the opportunities for their exploitation in the interests of general world expansion. Such a Board might work in conjuction with a representative body from the Bank of International Settlements and similar institutions which are likely to develop in the near future.

FIVE years seem a small span of time. But what can be done in five years with proper application of energy is shown by the history of all industrial countries. If the world can muster faith and energy for the task, the possibilities of achievement are immense. Tens of millions of people throughout the world are in need of food, shelter, sanitary plumbing, good roads, better means of communication and transportation, not to speak of schools and recreation. To satisfy even the most elementary needs in all these respects would engage the productive energies of all the advanced industrial countries and demand the development of large new resources everywhere. It is a picture of expansion which should stir the imagination of everyone with the red blood of enterprise in his veins.

It would be absurd to deny the many complex problems, both political and economic, which stand in the way of such a Five-Year Plan. Every step in the direction of such planful activity would be obstructed by existing political conditions, by vested interests and established methods of doing business within each country, and by the present interrelations of different national economies. The psychological outlook in most countries—the desire for political and economic hegemony, the rightful or imaginary fears of insecurity for oneself and hopes for dominating others, the inherited hatreds, the newly acquired ambitions, and the whole tangle of emotions, prejudices and irritations left to us by the dead and deadening past—all stand in the way of rational living and of rational planning for life.

But let us not accede to the pessimistic conclusion that we can not free ourselves from the dead hand of the past and that we must go through more world tragedies before we can see the light. Let us do everything in our power to help along those forces which are already making for world unity and cooperation. While we must wait for those who are the official representatives of the people to take action, we can do our mite in influencing the course of events by pushing the ideas which we believe hold out promise for the future.

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